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The War

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press January 15]

United Nations Week, now being celebrated throughout the country, has the dual aim of more thoroughly acquainting Americans with the peoples associated with us and raising funds for the relief of their war-stricken whose need is very great.

This project, sponsored by the motion-picture industry with the approval of the President's

War Relief Control Board, offers a splendid opportunity to the American people for strengthening the spirit of unity so essential to winning the war and winning the peace.

United Nations Week gives us all another special occasion to learn more about the United Nations, sense their need, and rally to the common cause.

CONTINUATION OF RELIEF WORK BY PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS

[Released to the press January 11]

The Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, Director of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, the Honorable Joseph E. Davies, Chairman of the President's War Relief Control Board, and the Honorable Norman H. Davis, Chairman of the American Red Cross, on January 11 issued a joint statement calling for continuation of emergency foreign-relief work by private organizations to supplement measures for mass relief of distressed civilians abroad which are being organized by the Government.

Mr. Davis, Mr. Davies, and Mr. Lehman said that it is essential to continue the relief work of private philanthropic organizations, financed by voluntary contributions from the public, as an expression of the generous sympathies of the American people and because of the distinctive services that quasi-public and voluntary agencies can render to complement public resources and services.

They emphasized that relief operations of private philanthropic agencies or groups can and will continue to supplement the broad operations of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, other Federal agencies, and the American Red Cross. As in the past, private organizations engaging in essential relief measures for distressed foreign populations will continue to procure clearance for their operations from the President's War Relief Control Board, headed by Mr. Davies.

The joint statement of Mr. Lehman, Mr. Davies, and Mr. Davis follows:

"The President has declared that to the task of bringing to bear directly against the enemy the full strength of the material resources and manpower of the United Nations, there is added another task. This task, continuously growing, is to supply medicines, food, clothing and other necessities of life to the peoples who have been plundered, despoiled, and starved. Every possible aid will be given, therefore, to help restore

each of the liberated countries to soundness and strength so that each may make its full contribution to the United Nations' victory and to the peace which will follow.

"The united resources and services of Government, supplemented by those of the American Red Cross and the International Red Cross organization, and by the voluntary efforts of all people will be required for the relief of distressed civilians in the countries associated with America in this war. While the resources and services of Government will be drawn upon to furnish the primary supplies for mass emergency relief of civilian populations, voluntary organizations rendering essential services will also need to be maintained.

"Since the outbreak of war in September 1939, foreign relief has been effected materially through many voluntary relief agencies serving the people of Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Czechoslo-

vakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, Russia, China and other war-torn countries.

"Relief work of this character is supplemental to supplies and services already extended by the Government and which, through operations of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, will be extended on a steadily increasing scale. It is likewise supplemental to work performed by the American Red Cross. Continuation of such voluntary relief work is essential not only as an expression of the generous sympathies of the American people but also as a distinctive service that quasi-public and voluntary agencies can render to complement public resources and services. There are many essential services which can be provided by private agencies that cannot be provided by the Government.

"As in the past, private relief agencies will be licensed by and registered with the President's War Relief Control Board."

ADDRESS BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY BERLE¹

[Released to the press January 10]

We meet tonight in a country which is comparatively safe. We are so well provided that the smallest of our rations would be luxury in most other countries. The incidental discomforts we have encountered do not even suggest the actual hardships of war. It is right that we take part in shouldering some of the burden of the Relief Fund of the United Nations.

Because of the heroism and sacrifice of the various members of the United Nations we are still comparatively safe. Had it not been for them, this meeting in Boston on the New England coast—one of the areas most exposed to invasion by modern force—might well have been a meeting not to offer relief but to ask it.

This is a new and sobering thought in modern American experience. During a long and

brilliant century we have considered ourselves safe and have taken our comfort and our prosperity for granted.

No longer can we do this.

In the first World War the combined resistance of Russia, Britain, and France kept the German armies at bay for more than two years. This gave us time to learn our true interest and to build up armies and supplies. We were thus able to enter the World War of 1914 and to play a decisive part.

When, in 1931, Japan, following a plan of world conquest, began her armed invasion of China and seized Manchuria, many in this country could not conceive that this might affect us. When, 10 years ago to the day, Hitler came to power in Germany and began to prepare his own world conquest, they paid little attention. Even when Japanese fury was fully loosed in Asia, and when Hitler commenced his seizure,

¹ Delivered at a dinner meeting of the United Nations Relief Fund, Inc., Boston, Mass., Jan. 10, 1943.

one by one, of European nations, there were those who still believed that the force of aggression was a matter of Old World concern.

We know today that had it not been for the splendid and terrible resistance of China and the sacrifice of the European peoples America would be facing direct invasion from two sides, if indeed that invasion had not already taken place.

The resistance of Poland, backed by the gallantry of Britain and of France, gave us time, literally bought with the blood of others. An unreal world had not permitted Czechoslovakia to stand to arms, and the Nazis were made masters of the key points in the fortress of Europe. The combined resistance again secured us two years' time to prepare. A terrible roll was called: Austria and Czechoslovakia fell. Poland, Britain, France, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Greece, Yugoslavia, Russia—these, like China, fought for themselves and their liberty, and in doing so fought for and protected the liberty of the world and of the United States.

Each of these, taking its toll of the sworn enemies of humanity, has maintained the ancient faith that freedom is beyond life. They keep alive the hope of ultimate victory. Now their work with ours gives certainty of final triumph at the end of the long road. It is not too much to say that many of us now living literally owe our lives to the uncounted heroes, men and women, in these countries. Had they faltered, we in America would have been in grievous case.

It is sufficiently plain, I think, that we shall not again be given time to meet aggressors by the sacrifice of other nations. Land armies must still cross other countries to reach our shores; and when they must fight to do this the resistance of their neighbors buys time for the Americas. But the next war is more likely to be air-borne. Frontiers will be crossed, not by armies marching down long roads or traveling in motorized vehicles. More probably, the armies of the future will be able to leave from any point on the earth's surface and to attack virtually at will any other point in the world.

It is not likely, again, that any aggressor seeking world conquest will reckon without the United States. Rather, he will seek to cripple or conquer the United States first. We had a foretaste of that at Pearl Harbor; and it is my considered opinion that if there is another war its beginning will be 50 Pearl Harbor expeditions, directed against the principal cities of the United States.

It is of the utmost importance that we learn this lesson now and that we never forget it. We must learn that if war threatens anew, we shall not have a breathing spell of two years vouchsafed us by other countries, during which we can build our own force. If the world to be built permits war, we shall have to be ready to meet it instantaneously, or suffer a terrible price.

I make these two points because they explain with deadly accuracy the appropriateness of the contributions we are asking for the relief of our comrades in this war, and why this work is properly carried on under the great name of the United Nations. By contributing we pay in some slight measure our debt to those who have saved us this time. By building the United Nations into a permanent world force we are sharing the work of a safer world for the future.

What is true of the United States and the western world is even more true of the European nations. All of them are necessarily dependent on each other. There can be no free and safe Poland unless there is also a free and safe Czechoslovakia. Nor could Poland and Czechoslovakia together exist in a world which did not also provide for the freedom and existence of Greece and Yugoslavia. The armies which fought in the Balkan mountains were struggling for Poland, and the Poles who fight their own battle for freedom on the northern plains, as they succeed, will help to liberate the Greeks and the Yugoslavs.

No part of this struggle is disconnected from any other part. Americans are supported and protected by the Russian men and women fighting the terrible battle of Stalingrad; and the Russians are assisted and helped

by the Chinese who make headway against the Japanese in Yunnan and by our American boys in the Solomon Islands.

When, therefore, we are asked to give to the United Nations Relief Fund, let us remember that all these soldiers are brothers in arms, brothers to us, and brothers to each other. The happiest augury for the world to come will be built on the knowledge by many individuals that this is true. When an American of Polish ancestry gives to the war relief of Czechs and Yugoslavs, he has done more than assist a comrade. He has helped to build a new and greater world.

The great good fortune of America makes it possible for us to begin this building of a world family of nations, because our own life is made up of streams of blood and culture drawn from all the United Nations. This country has freely given to all and has received much in return.

I ask you, in this United Nations Relief Fund, to lay aside some part of the fierce nationalisms which have so long plagued the international family. Let us strike hands here and in doing so give pledge for tomorrow.

The United Nations have before them two huge tasks. The first is quite simply that of fighting—and fighting to win. Their armies are holding many fronts by land, sea, and air. The strength of each of these armies is of vital importance to all the others. You feel safer and happier tonight because the Germans are in retreat and the Soviet armies are advancing toward Rostov-on-Don. The Chinese felt safer and happier when American boys landed in the Solomon Islands and held that strategic outpost against repeated attacks of the Japanese fleet. Russia's faith and hope were strengthened when British forces drove Rommel out of Egypt and across the Libyan Desert, and when American forces successfully occupied a thousand miles of North African coast and compelled the German air force to draw planes away from the Russian front for the protection of Italy.

This is not a series of wars; it is one war. The more united the action, the more certain and sweeping the victory.

It is well for us, in America, to remember that fact. We have in our own country great groups of Americans of foreign ancestry. Naturally and properly, they maintain a close interest in their countries of origin and desire fervently that these countries shall be restored to freedom and to national life. Let me express the hope that these groups will not allow themselves to be led into narrow and nationalist controversy. From time to time attempts are made to revive in America and among groups of Americans of foreign ancestry the disputes and antagonisms which far too often disfigure the life of the Old World. We have no time and no place for those quarrels here. We have learned that all these groups, living in America, find that they have left their legacies of hatred behind them; that races which elsewhere were forced to live in continuous quarrels here became neighbors, friends, and blood relatives. This has been the proudest achievement of American life. It is perhaps the best contribution we can make to international cooperation.

Whoever seeks to set any race or group in America apart from or against any other race or group, deserves to be distrusted, both here and abroad. America's strength lies in her union, just as victory for the United Nations lies in the ability of all that great group of nations to work together.

The problem in war is that of attaining unity in effort. Those of us who are not in the fighting forces must achieve unity of effort in the supporting work which we must do as civilians. It is all part of the same great picture, the pooling of the resources of mind and material to the single task of winning the greatest war history has yet seen.

This lesson of sinking differences and of pooling efforts is one we shall learn with increasing force as the days go on. The incidents of daily life will teach it to us. In wartime the things we eat and use and wear become increasingly scarce; increasingly we have to share them with our neighbors—not only as a nation, through the pooling of war supplies, but as individuals, dealing with the ordinary problems of life. It is always pos-

sible for an individual or for a group of individuals to beat the game, to ask for and get more than his fair share, or to seek to preserve a special position. When this is done at the expense of the whole group, everyone suffers in the end.

Those of us who have cars are learning to share their use with others. As rationing becomes increasingly strict—and it must become increasingly strict if each is to have his fair share—we shall learn that several people working together can obtain better results than the same number of people trying to work alone. I think, in the process, we shall find we are happier in the end. I believe we shall learn that working together on each other's problems is a great human experience.

Out of that experience all of us should draw a greater capacity for dealing with the titanic problem of rebuilding a peaceful world when the Nazi tyranny is stamped out of existence. When you have shared your ration of sugar with the family next door and have asked to share someone else's gasoline in getting down to your job, you understand more easily why it is that nations can no longer get along with a purely selfish economic system. You begin to see more clearly why a country which cannot produce enough food to feed its people can rightfully ask a share of world trade so that it can pay with its manufactures for its daily bread. You see the problem not as an impersonal struggle for markets. You see behind it the men and women who are trying to keep their children fed. You begin to understand how closely connected everything in the world is to everything else. You begin to discover, somehow, that your morning coffee from Brazil depends in large part on the great system of American relations, and that the Good Neighbor Policy is not a phrase for diplomats to play with but an art which makes it possible for you to live more happily. You begin to realize that there is a Brazilian who likewise depends on those relations for his life, and that when he asks to exchange his supplies for our products he too is merely seeking the materials of decent life.

Because we are dealing with a world situation much of what we do affects people who are very far away. We shall see very few of them in the flesh. Once in a while a few stories become personal. I think of an 11-year-old refugee girl whose career I followed from the time of her flight from Germany into Holland and Belgium, and through the long and terrible journey out of Belgium, across France, through Spain, into Lisbon, and at long last to the United States. Her own parents were killed very early in this terrible story, and she herself lived with five separate families, many of them in extreme want, who were strangers to her but no strangers to common misfortune. That story had something like a happy ending, because the child finally arrived here and is now safe and in loving hands. But for one such incident that we can see, there are millions upon millions of cases which we shall never know.

What we must know and must realize is that these millions of unseen cases are millions of unseen people. Were any of them here, before us, we should not need to consider what had to be done. We should know as a matter of course that plain humanity required our utmost in assistance and good-will.

As the various demands are made on us for the sacrifices of war, for the work of war relief, and for the post-war arrangements, we shall do well to remember these unseen millions who are not statistics, not races, not nations, not governments, but human beings. The human results we achieve will be the test of our ability as people and as a nation.

It was once said of our country that America had achieved the state of being a continuous and kindly revolution. The creation of the United Nations, though forced by a common enemy, was itself one of the amazing revolutions of history. Their agreement upon terms of the Atlantic Charter as common principles on which were based hopes for a better future of the world is almost without parallel.

We are today sharing the dangers and privations and sorrows of war. We are today sharing the burdens which flow from that war.

We are pledged to share the burdens of establishing the peace. The lessons which we learn in the dark days must be carried over until there is established "a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

GERMAN ACTION WITH RESPECT TO THE AMERICAN GROUP AT LOURDES, FRANCE

[Released to the press January 11]

The Department of State has been advised by its Legation at Bern that the German Government has thrown a detachment of SS troops around the American group at Lourdes, France. The group includes diplomatic and consular officers, press correspondents, Red Cross representatives, and relief workers.

The German Government proposes to transfer the American group from French soil to a site in Germany.

The German action was taken while the United States Government was negotiating through the Swiss Government for the exchange of its personnel.

It is reported that the German Government thus intends to take upon itself for its own purposes the exchange negotiations.

This autocratic action by the German Government was protested on January 11 by the Department of State.

[Released to the press January 13]

When recent developments resulted in the assembling of United States officials in France, and of members of the former French Embassy, including the former Ambassador and his service attachés, and of French consulates throughout the United States at Hershey, Pa., other French personnel were allowed to remain at liberty pending disposition of their cases in co-operation with other interested agencies of the Government.

The Department of State promptly proposed through the Swiss Government an agreement to exchange the American group in France for the former French officials here. The answer as reported by the Swiss Government was that no consideration would be given to the departure of the American officials from France until information was furnished about the German Armistice Commission in Africa and the German Consul in Algiers. The desired information is being obtained by the Department with a view to its transmission to the governments of the captured enemy nationals as is customary. However, the American Government does not consider that this information about German nationals has any relation to the question of the exchange of French and American personnel.

The German Government has now assumed complete jurisdiction over the American group and is taking them to Germany under guard of German SS troops.

Several of the French officials have been released from Hershey with the approval of other interested agencies of the Government and have offered their services in the military effort of the United Nations against the Axis.

DECLARATION OF WAR BY IRAQ AGAINST THE AXIS POWERS

[Released to the press January 16]

The Minister of Iraq called upon the Secretary of State on January 16 and delivered to him the following communication:

JANUARY 16th, 1943.

SIR:

I have the honor to inform you that this Legation has received the following important communication from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Iraq, to be transmitted to the Department of State.

In as much as the German Government has interfered most openly and in every way in the domestic affairs of Iraq and has been responsible for the instigation and promotion of outright rebellion against the duly constituted

Government of Iraq, and whereas the Government of Germany has continued in an open manner without cessation in its hostile acts directed at Iraq by the dissemination through radio broadcasts of untruthful rumors and prevaricating reports, of vile slanders directed against the royal family, and of direct encouragement to unrest and disaffection, the Government of Iraq declares that Iraq regards itself, as from midnight on January 16-17, 1943, as being at war with Germany.

And, in as much as the Government of Italy, in collaboration with the German Government, has committed the same acts constituting interference in the domestic affairs of Iraq and has been guilty of grave provocation directed

against Iraq until the present time, it is declared by the Government of Iraq that Iraq regards itself, as of midnight January 16-17, 1943, as being at war with Italy.

And, in as much as the Government of Japan has been guilty of the flagrant violation of the neutrality of Iraq by lending assistance to the German and Italian Governments in the interference by those Governments in Iraqi domestic matters, and in as much as the Government of Japan has since joined these Governments openly in their provocative acts directed against Iraq, the Government of Iraq declares that, as of midnight on January 16-17, 1943, a state of war exists between Iraq and Japan.

I take [etc.]

ALI JAWDAT

ADDRESS BY FRANCIS B. SAYRE ¹

[Released to the press January 16]

It is a thrilling time in which to be alive. We are passing, these tremendous days, through one of the very great periods of history. It is in the days of trial and strain, when burdens seemingly intolerable must be borne and problems apparently insoluble must be successfully solved, that men's souls are uplifted and the really great pages of history are written.

The contrast between our present-day world and that of the nineteenth century is striking indeed. The nineteenth century was a time of ease and prosperity, when men devoted their lives to material wealth. The sun shone and flowers bloomed; we dreamed that we were approaching the day when poverty would be conquered and human want overcome. We could see in the not too distant future a time when the

War drum throbbed no longer, and the battle-flags were furled,

In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.

¹ Delivered at the seventy-sixth annual State convention of the Y.M.C.A., New Haven, Conn., Jan. 16, 1943. Mr. Sayre is Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, and Deputy Director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations.

In America, as in other western countries, we were absorbed in the Herculean labor of building an unsurpassed material civilization that seemed to us impregnable.

The mills of the gods grind slowly; but materialism and selfishness in the end bear their inevitable fruit. America emerged in 1914 wealthy and powerful beyond her dreams but confronted with three haunting problems: one in the field of industry, another in that of economics, and a third in the realm of international politics. Because these problems are still unsolved, because as long as they remain so they threaten to bring our civilization crashing about our heads, they must be the vital concern of every forward-looking man and woman today.

The industrial problem came as the very natural result of our intensive drive to accumulate material wealth. Human values were eclipsed by material ones; labor was treated as a commodity and wages in many cases driven down by the operation of relentless economic competition below the poverty level, so that a substantial portion of workers, even in times of national plenty, were receiving less than sufficient for the basic necessities of life. Cap-

ital was invested and effort concentrated in whatever enterprise would yield to the investor the highest monetary returns, quite regardless of public or social considerations or human needs. The result was permanent mass unemployment—what has been called “the most hideous of our social evils”. There followed growing unrest, social maladjustment, ominous fissures and cracks in the industrial foundations of the West.

In these developments America did not stand alone. England, France, Germany, and other industrial nations were following the same pathway and facing the same darkening horizon.

In the economic field an equally grave problem developed. Unless a manufacturer can secure the raw materials he needs and can get his goods to market, he must close his factories. Obviously, growing industrialization in every nation demanded freer access to foreign sources of supplies and to overseas markets—in a word, fewer barriers to international trade. Yet the trend of international trade practices was in precisely the opposite direction. Tariffs and other trade barriers were pushed up instead of down, under the relentless pressure all over the world of blocs of producers, intent on gaining higher prices for their own goods by excluding from the Nation all competing foreign goods. With every country thus pushing up its trade barriers to ever greater heights, nations were forced into an economic nationalism and attempted self-sufficiency which if unchecked threatened to disrupt in time the very foundations of the economic and commercial structure of the world.

In the realm of international politics the unsolved problem of competitive armament-building hung, like a sword of Damocles, above our heads. For over a century man's main reliance had been upon guns and battleships and material power rather than upon international confidence and friendship and the building up of peace machinery. It was thought that peace could be made secure by lining up the nations of the world into two opposing camps, with the material strength of each so nearly equal that

neither would dare to attack the other. Thus we headed into the Triple Alliance versus the Triple Entente.

Any system of nicely balanced military alliances is bound to develop sooner or later into a race in competitive armament-building, with costs mounting in a continually ascending spiral. To such a race there can be no relief—no end—except war.

The storm broke in 1914 with the crash of the first World War. We tried to guard America against the oncoming disaster; but the explosive gases generated by the unsolved problems of our materialistic civilization were too world-embracing to allow a single nation to isolate itself or escape untouched.

War itself does not solve problems. It multiplies and intensifies them. What the Allied victory did achieve was to give to statesmanship an unparalleled opportunity at the conclusion of the war to work out and apply solutions upon which a stable civilization could be built.

Emerging from the war, America found herself in the forefront of a surging army of humanity looking to her as the nation of supreme power to lead the world to salvation. But America, engrossed in her own affairs, had no battle flag ready—no clearcut vision of the goal ahead. We turned our backs upon Woodrow Wilson and upon the great ideals for which he stood. We scrambled back to “normalcy”, which meant business as usual, selfishness rampant, and a general unconcern for humanity and the rest of the world.

America lost the lead that was hers. The youth whom she had sent to France on a crusade to “make the world safe for democracy” came home to find the ideals for which they had offered their lives apparently in the scrap heap. What else could happen but a tidal wave of disillusionment and cynicism sweeping over the country and leaving in its wake a sense of frustration and utter futility. It poisoned our faith in the goodness of life and in the destiny of America.

Unhappily America's experience was not unique. All over the world the same forces

of materialism and cynicism gained ascendancy. Particularly in Central Europe the losses and suffering resulting from the first World War and the prevailing sense of disillusionment and frustration led to widespread demoralization. Capitalizing upon this tragic situation, the Nazi group merged in Germany, the culmination and embodiment of stark materialism, ready to sell their very souls if they could thereby gain material power. Scorning the principles and teachings of Christianity and in utter contempt for the spiritual values and moral foundations upon which alone civilized life can be built, they called upon all Germans who believed in sheer brute force as the source of greatest power on earth to join with them in fighting their way to a position of mastery over the rest of the world.

During the ensuing years efforts have been made by our government and by other governments—in many cases constructive and valiant efforts—to meet and to overcome the tormenting problems of modern civilization. Some progress has been made. Yet throughout the world as a whole the problems still remain unsolved.

All of us know that a mere military victory, important and essential as that clearly is, will not of itself bring us a lasting peace. At the conclusion of the first World War, because the basic problems growing out of a materialistic civilization were left unsolved, we gained only a short respite between wars and failed to achieve lasting peace. Military victory gave us our chance, but we lost it. The situation now is infinitely more grave. If we lose our chance again, our plight will be critical indeed.

How can we achieve a durable peace? It is not a question of what kind of a peace would victors like to impose upon the vanquished, but in the cold light of experience how can we build a peace which is likely to prove enduring and which rests upon Christian fundamentals?

If I read history aright, such a peace must be built upon at least four underlying principles: first, international cooperation; second, a recognition of the supreme value of human

personality and of human rights; third, economic freedom; and fourth, international control and supervision of armament building.

In the first place, no peace today can possibly be lasting unless it is built upon increasingly close international cooperation. The present world, as a result of modern scientific invention and development, has become so closely knit together by steamships and cables and aeroplanes and radios that in actual fact no nation any longer can isolate its activities—or indeed even its thoughts. The old conception that each sovereign nation is and should be completely independent of every other and thus free to formulate its policies and engage in such activities as it chooses regardless of every other nation, was developed at a time when ocean transportation was by sailing ships and there were no cables or radios. That day is past. The political, economic, and social policies of every nation today have their strong effects and dynamic repercussions upon every other nation. An unconscionable tariff wall or an unfair discrimination may, perhaps on the other side of the world, cut off a whole nation from its accustomed overseas markets and bring its people lengthening breadlines and industrial revolution. The adoption by one people of a new economic or social philosophy may result in thunder and lightning on another continent.

America is now compelled quite against her will to turn aside from the pursuits of peace, to undergo the convulsion and tragedy of war, to send her men and ships and planes across the seven seas—because of what happened in the past 10 years in Manchuria, in Ethiopia, in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, in Norway, in China, in Indochina, and elsewhere in Europe and Asia. Was there ever a more terrible object lesson set before our eyes of the utter incongruity of the thesis of national isolationism with the realities of modern life?

America, under present conditions, even if she wanted to, cannot live selfishly apart from the rest of the world. No nation in the twentieth century can possibly live unto itself alone.

No peace can be lasting unless it is built upon these inescapable realities. The political, economic, and commercial problems which con-

vulse the modern world and which generate international frictions and breed poisons have come to transcend national and even continental boundaries. No nation single-handed can solve them. For instance, no nation can afford to disarm, no matter how peace-loving its people may be, as long as no organized international force exists to prevent individual freebooters from attacking it. No blockade can be made effective unless all concerned participate. No nation can safely remove its quota restrictions, its exchange controls, and its other trade barriers against discriminatory practices, dumping tactics, and the like unless all move together in a common frontal attack upon all unconscionable trade barriers. The problems which make for war are world-wide in their scope and can never be solved except by concerted thought and organized joint action on the part of the world community.

My own personal view is that two practical conclusions follow. If we are to build for lasting peace, we must abandon the nineteenth-century conception that the road to peace lies through a nicely poised balance of power. Again and again cold experience has taught us that no peace dependent upon a balance of power lasts. The balance-of-power theory rests upon the premise of utterly independent nations, owing no obligations of any kind to each other; and the peace of the world under twentieth-century conditions cannot be made secure except through the activity of an organized group, subject to common obligations and restraints. Whatever may be said in its favor under nineteenth-century conditions, the balance-of-power theory is under twentieth-century conditions the sure way to destruction.

It further follows that the only way under present-day realities to make peace secure is to set up an international organization for the keeping of the peace. This does not mean creating overnight a world government with sweeping and general power to invade the domestic affairs of sovereign states. It does mean the delegation to some international organization of certain carefully defined and restricted powers. It means also clothing it with

sufficient force to carry out effectively those restricted and limited powers. Presumably these would include among others the power to prevent by concerted action international territorial aggression and thievery, the power to regulate and control heavy armament building in every country of the world, the power to administer and supervise the government of certain backward and colonial areas, and the power by concerted action to attack certain discriminatory and anti-social practices in the field of international trade and finance. The degree of power accorded to such an organization would naturally grow with time as experience proved its worth and its competency. As a matter of fact, the stabilization of peace is less dependent upon strong-arm methods to repress force than upon the constant international regulation and adjustment long before resort to force is imminent of problems which make for conflict.

The difficulties of creating such an organization, properly delimiting its sphere of action, and clothing it with effective power are not to be minimized. But there is no other way by which independent states can maintain their security and their sovereignty.

The issue of future American participation in shaping world affairs has come to be too crucial for us to allow it to be decided henceforth upon prejudice or emotion or partisan politics. There can be no stable peace unless we Americans participate in the building and the keeping of it.

If the peace is to be made enduring, it must be built also upon a second principle: the sacredness of the individual human personality. Civilization goes forward when the fundamental rights and interests of human beings are placed first in the scale of values. Peoples do not exist to enable governments to attain a place in the sun. Governments exist to serve peoples. The reasonable security of one's person and one's property, freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, the right to dispose of the fruits of one's own labor, equality of rights before the law, complete independence of thought, and reasonable independence

of action—these are basic human rights, on the safeguarding of which peace must be built if it is to be made lasting.

The history of civilization is the story of the slow but ever-increasing recognition and enforcement of these elemental rights of humanity—rights at first accorded only to restricted groups, then extended to wider and wider circles, and finally covering the great rank and file of common men and women. The significant fact of history is that whenever these human rights have been opposed by kings or feudal barons or Junkers or government functionaries, struggle has ensued. Often it has taken time, but always eventual victory has come to the common people and those opposing them have gone down in the struggle. It must always be thus, for humanity will not tolerate any other outcome.

No arrangement which denies or cripples these elemental rights will prove stable and no state which permanently thwarts them can endure. That is why the Nazi thesis of a pan-German master-race, enslaving and suppressing the rest of the world, is doomed to failure from the outset. That is why no system of imperialism, if it be built upon the exploitation of human beings, whether white or brown or yellow or black, can be enduring.

Here we touch the very heart of the difficulty of government over alien peoples. The problem of colonial government, which has tormented Europe for over 4 centuries, never will be solved until we come to realize that the supreme values in the world are human personalities. Every alien rule based upon mass injustice or exploitation contains the seeds of unrest and revolution and makes against international stability and lasting peace. The experience of Great Britain in the Dominions and of the United States in the Philippines throws interesting light on the effects of a contrary policy. It was because for over 40 years America did her best, for the benefit of the Filipino people themselves, to build up education, public sanitation, good roads, and higher standards of living, that when the crisis came in December 1941 the Filipino people were found fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Americans.

The government of alien peoples carries with it distinct responsibilities as well as rights. Primary among these is the obligation to prepare, educate, and strengthen the dependent people to stand alone.

We must seek to eliminate not necessarily all alien rule but all alien rule based upon exploitation. No peace based upon a colonial policy of exploitation can be a stable one.

A third fundamental upon which lasting peace must be built is economic freedom. The resources of the earth are amply sufficient for the needs of all peoples. But if the strong and powerful set up political barriers or artificial trade arrangements which effectively cut nations off from the goods and raw materials needed for their factories and from the foreign markets necessary for the sale of their products, obviously men will be robbed of their livelihood and nations will be forced, even against their will, into economic struggle and warfare.

A stable peace cannot be built upon an economic order which fomented struggle and unrest.

Our experience of the 1930's has made certain facts indisputably clear. We have learned that no industrial nation today can possibly carry on without a very large volume of exports and imports. Hitler did his best to achieve German self-sufficiency, but he failed dismally and was finally forced to cry out, "Germany must export or die."

Industrial nations must trade to survive. Through poignant suffering we learned that accumulating trade barriers, choking and strangling international trade spelled mounting unemployment and increasing hunger and deepening international hostility. No serious statesman in this day and generation advocates the complete elimination of all tariff walls. But responsible statesmen do advocate—and if we are to win the objectives for which the democracies are fighting they must insist upon—the elimination after the war of those unconscionable trade barriers which inescapably choke the flow of international trade and as a result substantially depress the standard of living of entire peoples. The pre-war system of mounting and excessive tariffs, of quota restrictions, of artificial exchange controls, of govern-

ment monopolies, of bilateralistic trade arrangements—the whole economic panoply of fighting devices to enforce some form or other of special privilege or unfair discrimination—all these must go if our criterion is to be not the private profit of small pressure groups buttressed with political power but the welfare and the advancement of humanity. We must insist upon the enjoyment by all states, great and small, victor and vanquished, of access on equal terms to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

Here, again, we cannot afford to underestimate the difficulties. Many of the most powerful and strongly entrenched lobbies in every important capitol in the world will fight the lowering of trade barriers. Nevertheless, we must find the means to unshackle international trade or else perish. There is no other possible way to build a peace that will last.

Finally, a stable peace depends upon our finding some way to effectuate an international control of armaments. In fact, this is but a phase, albeit one of outstanding importance, of the problem of collective security. There can be no secure peace as long as any gang of gunmen is free to gain control of a nation's government, run up a swastika or a rising sun or some other pirate's emblem, turn the country into a producing arsenal, and then make war upon the rest of mankind.

In the days before aeroplanes and tanks, when a nation could withstand attack long enough to manufacture weapons adequate for its defense, international control of armament-building may not have been necessary. But today with military defense strategy revolutionized by the development of aeroplanes and armored divisions the whole picture has changed. We live in a machine age. War is waged with mechanized devices—tanks and flying fortresses and intricately planned battleships, which take months or years to build and cost a king's ransom. A heavily armed aggressor nation may hold all nations not so armed at her mercy; for the aggressor can by air attack demolish the producing factories in other nations long before the necessary defense armament can be pro-

duced. It is only due to the gallantry and heroic fighting of Great Britain, Russia, and China and the other United Nations who resisted the Axis advance that our own country has been afforded the precious months necessary for the preparation of our defense.

In other words, modern weapons have so basically changed the entire problem of military defense that today no nation can build up an arsenal of heavy armament without vitally threatening the security of every other nation. Armament-building has become in the world of fact a matter of the most profound international concern. By the same token, armament-building must henceforth become subject to international supervision and control. Had this been the case during the last 10 years, Germany and Japan would never have gone to war.

The achievement of international control raises exceedingly complex problems. But these are not insoluble. We must and we will find the way to solve them.

As a matter of fact, probably the time has never been so propitious as at the conclusion of the present war for the setting up of an international limitation and control of armaments. In all probability the vast armament of Germany, Japan, and Italy will then be smashed. Militarism in those countries will be discredited. The victorious armaments of the world will then be in the hands of lovers of peace and democracy. If we are in earnest about building the future peace upon secure foundations, the victorious nations will then have the chance, as nations have never had before, to set up an international body to take over armament-building plants in the enemy countries, to exercise effective control over them, and to limit future armament-production in all countries to a fixed schedule. This means, eventually, international inspection and control over the armament plants of the victorious as well as of the vanquished nations. It also means an international police force if such control is to be made effective.

To achieve enduring peace we must build upon these four fundamentals: organized in-

ternational cooperation, recognition of the supreme value of human personalities and of human rights, economic freedom with equality of trading opportunity for all nations, and an international control and supervision of armament-building. Upon these foundations we can build a peace that will put new heart into mankind. Men and women are weary of war—wary of injustice and group selfishness and the suffering that selfishness always brings. Peoples all over the world are eager to go forward.

Today we stand poised at the fork of the road. A new world opens up if we will have it so. If we have the courage to fight for it and the wit to build for it on foundations that are sound and true and Christian, we may enter upon one of the shining and constructive eras of human history.

ADDRESS BY THE FORMER AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN¹

[Released to the press January 16]

It is a privilege and pleasure to be with you and to talk with you today. Since I have returned from Tokyo, I have welcomed the opportunity of meeting my fellow Americans in all parts of the country and from all conditions of life. In so doing, I have hoped to do my duty of helping them understand the nature of our enemies and have also enjoyed the gratification of a thorough reacquaintance with my own people. Only those of you who have lived years among foreigners can appreciate the reality of such a homecoming and can understand the inexhaustible pleasure which an exile feels when he is once again with his own kind.

But there is a further, special satisfaction which I have in talking with you, members and guests of the Women's National Republican Club, on this occasion. It is this: you symbolize democracy twice over. You are women.

¹Delivered by the Honorable Joseph C. Grew before the Women's National Republican Club luncheon, New York, N. Y., Jan. 16, 1943, and broadcast over the Columbia Network on a Nation-wide broadcast.

But make no mistake. The winning of the war alone will not bring us a world of freedom or a world of brotherhood. After the war is won the real fight with reaction and selfish privilege and "normalcy" will begin; and if we are to win this crucial fight, now is the time, and not after that reaction has set in, to think through the issues and formulate our program and align our forces. Once the war is won, most of our bargaining power with our Allies will be gone.

Let us not forget that in these tremendous days, here and now, we can play a part—perhaps a leading part—in helping to determine what road humanity will travel in the difficult years ahead. To do so will demand our wisest thought and tireless effort and utter consecration. Under God's guidance let us go forward with wisdom and with faith and without fear.

You are members of a free, vigorous, and patriotic opposition party. In both capacities you retain full political rights, even in wartime.

Your own freedom, today, in this room, symbolizes to me the freedom for which we all stand. I would like to tell you about three things which may make that freedom more plain and more dear to you. First, I would like to tell you about German women, whom I saw in the first World War, and the Japanese women, whom I have seen in this one. Secondly, I would like to tell you about the magnitude of the war against you and me—particularly about the Japanese zone of this war, which I happen to know best. Third, I want to warn you against the menace of a false and dangerous peace. These things mean something to you. Is it not significant that you, American *women*, have the freedom to face your own problems on an occasion such as this?

Can you imagine what this means? Here we meet together, peacefully and openly. What would happen if a meeting such as this were to be convoked in Berlin or in Tokyo?

You know what has happened to the women of Germany and Japan. You know that both these militaristic states have ridden to power over the degradation of their own women. You know that the three K's—*Kinder*, *Küche*, *Kirche*, or children, kitchen, church—have been marked out by German tradition as the only legitimate interests of German women. Today they do not even have these.

We know from incontrovertible evidence that the children of German women are taken from their mothers by the Nazi party machine. We know that these children are taught to be immoral, fanatical little ruffians and that the whole power of the German state is mobilized behind the nasty job of taking children from their mothers, turning them into *Hitlerjugend* and *Hitlermädels*, so that the boys of today may be the infantry of 1950, and the girls the mothers of the cannon fodder of 1970. The German mother cannot even whisper to her children, because the Nazi camp leaders or other Nazi teachers will inveigle the children into talking about home. A little boy may repeat something his mother told him about the un-Christian war of the Nazis; and the mother will be visited by cold-faced, overbearing police. On other occasions—and these are the saddest of all—the children themselves will be perverted and taught to denounce their own parents to the Gestapo and will tattle the talk of the family circle to a whole ring of other young fanatics.

Even the other German spheres for women are denied them, since the kitchen has become a mere auxiliary to the chemical industries of the Reich and the church groans under the oppression of turncoats and fanatics who conspire together to degrade the Christian religion.

Of all Germans, women suffered most during the last war. They stood night-long in queues for rations which might or might not be there. They wept in the privacy and the silence of the night. When the Kaiser talked of German power, they knew that his power was compounded of the death of their husbands and the ruin of their homes. They knew the impact of war on the bodies of their children; they saw

undernourishment and disease as the accompaniments of German glory.

Do you wonder that under the pitiful, short-lived German Republic women reached hopefully for educational, political, and economic rights? Do you wonder that Hitler and his henchmen have tried to drive German women down into the hopeless docility of barbarism? Do you not see that German women today are held by public opinion, by official utterance, and by the law itself to be inferior creatures, fit only to serve and produce German warriors? Think of those women holding a political meeting of their own! Think of the tumult and clamor, the argument, reproaches, and tears which would break forth if they could ever dare meet together and talk freely without worry concerning the Secret State Police of the Third Reich! They would appreciate the freedom to speak, because they have seen their older men die for a government they could no longer respect, because they have seen their young men die fanatically in a wicked, cruel, futile cause, and because they have watched their own children being corrupted by the violent speech and coarse behavior of Nazi petty officials.

And yet, German women are privileged in comparison with the women of the conquered countries. The Nazis want their own women to be the physically healthy, morally degraded brood-mares of militarism. But for Polish women, Greek women, and the women of other conquered countries the Nazis bring nothing but terror, pain, and all too often death. The Germans do not even ship these women to Germany. They starve them, shoot them, hurt them in their own homelands, and shovel them into common graves with their husbands and children.

I am not telling you these things because I believe in atrocity stories. Everything which I have mentioned—with other things, far worse, about which I do not even wish to think—is attested by the word of honorable men in responsible, official positions. There is no end to the Nazi catalog of terror.

In Japan it is significant that this same pic-

ture of the degradation of women holds true. Whereas German women once achieved some freedom and have once had some rights and some education, Japanese women as a group have always been under the unquestionable dominion of their masters. No other civilized people sells its young girls to panderers with such openness. No other civilized people makes the mother so completely the slave of her husband and the servant of her own sons. The Japanese militarists are unfit at home to advance the status or the rights of their own women, and when they go overseas they show foreign women the same and greater contempt. American women were forced to take off their hats to Japanese sentries in parts of China, and their faces were slapped if they tried to temporize. The Japanese soldiers, who have made "Japanese" a synonym for murder, torture, and rape, were men brought up in a country which—with all its other, unrelated virtues—did not accord women a voice in private or public affairs and which never permitted women's influence to soften or moderate the harsh progress of fanatical militarism.

There they are, the womenfolk of our enemies. Here you are, free women in a free country. Can't you see that it is vital to you—to each one of you personally—to grasp the full implications of the struggle in direct and personal terms in order to be able to perform your proper share of the war effort? Too many of us, I fear, have not realized the full extent of the war waged by Germany and Japan against ourselves.

Let me tell you about the part of this war which I know best, the Japanese war against America. I have watched it brew for years and feel that I have taken the measure of our Japanese enemies. I do not for a moment presume to touch upon questions of high policy and strategy in the fighting of this war nor upon the relative emphasis to be placed on the various theaters of war. Our highest leaders are taking care of that. I speak merely of the Japanese war machine as I have known it and have seen it grow, in power and deter-

mination and overweening ambition, during the past 10 years of my mission to Japan.

Let me paint for you the picture as I see it, for you women, with an increased share of the national burden, have the right to know as much as can be known about the problem that confronts us. I shall not overstate the case nor overdraw the picture. Let us look at that picture as it faces us today.

Even before Pearl Harbor Japan was strong and possessed a military machine of great power—and when I speak of that military machine I include all branches of the Japanese armed forces: the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force. That military machine had been steadily strengthened and developed during many years, especially since Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931, an act of unprovoked aggression which, in effect, commenced the expansionist movement of Japan in total disregard of the rights and legitimate interests of any nation or of any people that might stand in the way of that movement.

In 1937 came Japan's invasion of north China and Shanghai, which led to the past six years of Sino-Japanese warfare. During all these years of their unavailing effort to conquer China and to bring about the surrender of the Chinese National Government, those Japanese armed forces were using China as a training ground in preparation for the greater war, already carefully planned, for their eventual conquest and intended permanent control of all so-called "Greater East Asia including the South Seas" and for the imposition upon the peoples of those far-flung areas of what Japan is pleased to refer to as the "New Order" and the "Co-Prosperity Sphere".

We know what that euphemistic slogan "Co-Prosperity" means: it denotes absolute hegemony—economic, financial, political—for Japan's own purely selfish interests and the virtual enslavement of the peoples of those territories to do the bidding of their Japanese masters. This statement is not a figment of the imagination; it is based on practical knowledge of what happened in other regions already subjected to

Japan's domination. Such a regime will be imposed in every area that may fall under Japan's domination.

During all this period of preparation the Japanese military machine has been steadily expanded and strengthened and trained to a knife-edge of war efficiency—in landing on beaches, in jungle fighting, and in all the many different forms of warfare which it was later to encounter.

Add to that intensive training the native courage of the Japanese soldiers and sailors and airmen, their determined obedience to orders even in the face of certain death, and their fanatical joy in dying for their Emperor on the field of battle, thus acquiring merit with their revered ancestors in the life to come, and you get a grim conception of the formidable character of that Japanese fighting machine. Furthermore, in war Japan is wholly totalitarian; her economy is planned and carried out to the last detail. No word of criticism of the Government or its acts is tolerated; the so-called "thought control" police take care of that. Labor unions are powerless. In war Japan is a unit, thinks and acts as a unit, labors and fights as a unit.

With that background, and having in mind the strength and power of Japan even before Pearl Harbor, consider for a moment the scene as it has developed in the Far East. Consider the tremendous holdings of Japan today: Korea, Manchuria, great areas in China proper, Formosa, the Spratly Islands, Indochina, Thailand, Burma and the Andamans, the entire Malay Peninsula, Hongkong and Singapore, the Philippines, the Netherlands East Indies, and, farther to the south and to the east, myriads of islands many of which are unsinkable aircraft carriers. Those areas contain all—mind you, all—the raw materials essential to the development of national power: rubber, oil, tin, metals, and foodstuffs—everything that the most comprehensive economy can desire; and they contain, furthermore, millions of native inhabitants who experience has proved beyond peradventure will be enslaved as skilled and unskilled labor by Japan to process those raw materials for immediate and

future use. There you have a recipe and the ingredients for national strength and power that defeat the imagination even approximately to assess.

Now to this recipe and these ingredients add one further element of grimly ominous purport. During all my 10 years in Japan I have read the books, the speeches, the newspaper and magazine articles of highly placed Japanese, of generals and admirals, of statesmen and diplomats and politicians. Sometimes thinly veiled, sometimes not even veiled, has emerged their overweening ambition eventually to invade and to conquer these United States. In their thinking even the megalomania of Hitler is surpassed. Fantastic if you will, but to them it is not fantastic. It was not fantastic when the foremost Japanese admiral, as recently occurred, publicly stated in all seriousness that he intends that the peace after this war will be dictated in the White House in Washington—by Japan. It might be 1 year or 2 years or 5 or 10 years before that Japanese military machine would find itself ready to undertake an all-out attack on this Western Hemisphere of ours; they themselves have spoken of a 100-year war. But one fact is as certain as the law of gravity: if we should allow the Japanese to dig in permanently in the far-flung areas now occupied, if we should allow them to consolidate and to crystallize their ill-gotten gains, if we should allow them time to fortify those gains to the nth degree, as they assuredly will attempt to do, it would be only a question of time before they attempted the conquest of American territory nearer home. In no respect do I overstate this case. My judgment is based on no wild surmise nor upon any far-fetched and imaginative hypothesis. It is based on facts, which are there for all to see, and upon 10 long years of intimate experience and observation.

What worries me in the attitude of our fellow countrymen is first the utterly fallacious pre-war thinking which still widely persists, to the effect that the Japanese, a race of little men, good copyists but poor inventors, are incapable of developing such power as

could ever seriously threaten our home shores, our cities, and our homes, a habit of mind which is reinforced by the great distances separating our homeland from the far eastern and southern Pacific battlefronts today.

I am also worried by the reaction of our people to the current successes of our heroic fighting men in the Solomons and New Guinea, for after each hard-won victory the spirits of our people soar. Moral stimulation is good, but moral complacency is the most dangerous habit of mind we can develop, and that danger is serious and ever-present. I have seen with my own eyes in some cases and I have had first-hand vivid personal accounts in many other cases of the horrible tortures inflicted on some of our fellow citizens by those utterly brutal, ruthless, and sadistic Japanese military police; I received in Tokyo the first-hand stories of the rape of Nanking; I have watched during these fateful years the purposeful bombing of our American religious missions throughout China, over 300 incidents of infamous destruction of American life and property, the intentional sinking of the *Panay*, the attempts on the *Tutuila* and on our Embassy in Chungking, and other efforts on the part of those military extremists to bring on war with the United States for the very purpose of leading up to the eventual carrying-out of their fell designs; and I say to you, without hesitation or reserve, that our own country, our cities, our homes are in dire peril from the overweening ambition and the potential power of that Japanese military machine—a power that renders Japan potentially the strongest nation in the world—potentially stronger than Great Britain or Germany or Russia or the United States—and that only when that military caste and its machine have been wholly crushed and destroyed on the field of battle, by land and air and sea, and discredited in the eyes of its own people, and rendered impotent either to fight further or further to reproduce itself in the future, shall we in our own land be free from that hideous danger and be able once again to turn to paths of peace.

You see that I promise no end to war through the simple formula of defeating the enemy today. Totalitarian aggression must be smashed first, and then its stump must be uprooted and burned. We cannot win now only, in the course of war; we must win the peace as well. To win the peace we must be sure that it is our kind of peace and not a peace which compromises with German or with Japanese militarism.

It is with regret, not unmixed with real humility, that I repeat to you today words which I addressed to a similar audience in January 1918—24 years ago this month. I said then, after describing the enemy Germany, from which I had recently returned: "That is the Germany of today with which we are at war and which we have got to defeat; otherwise, as surely as the immutable laws of nature control the movement of this earth, our future generations will have to take up what we now leave off, facing the same problem which now confronts us, perhaps unaided. If we do not want to leave this heritage to our unborn sons, if this country is not to remain an armed camp permanently, Germany, as she is now organized, controlled, and governed, must be defeated." Those words are even more true today, and they are true as well of that other Germany in the Pacific, the Japanese Empire. We failed then Pacific, the Japanese Empire. We failed then enemy; we must not fail again.

We must not tolerate Japanese or German militarism under new names and new flags. We must not drive the forces of imperialism, totalitarianism, and aggression underground. We must annihilate these evil forces and show that the age of imperialism is ended. We cannot treat with those enemies whose ruin we have pledged. We cannot make peace with the fanaticism which we have sworn to exterminate. We must watch vigilantly for the dangerous signs of a German or Japanese peace offensive, designed to let us win the war but to lose the peace. Let me tell you about such a move, as it could come from Japan; the same general tactics would hold true of German militarism.

In my various talks around the country I have repeatedly stressed the view that the Japanese will not crack. What I mean is exemplified in the tenacity with which their armed forces have been holding out at Buna and in Guadalcanal. That is to say, the Japanese military code does not admit of surrender, even when it is the only alternative to annihilation, but this does not mean that the Japanese will stand up to be shot down to the last man when some other alternative presents itself, such as running away to fight another day. Despite their sentimentality and fanaticism the Japanese are fundamentally a practical people. When they find that they cannot win on the field of battle, that they are bound to be beaten there, and that they therefore are in danger of losing all their so-called "Co-Prosperity Sphere", there can be no doubt that, rather than accepting a conclusive defeat, rather than taking loss of all their gains, they will look about for ways of effecting a compromise whereby they might avoid the disgrace of defeat and might hope to retain a part of their gains.

At the present time, of course, the Japanese leaders and, even more so, the people are far from convinced that they cannot manage to retain substantially all their gains. But when the allied offensive gains momentum and Japanese self-confidence is shaken by successive reverses and loss of territory, then we may look for a development of new tactics. The Japanese art of self-defense, jujitsu, gives us a clue as to what these tactics are likely to be. The essence of this art is that by letting the adversary take the initiative and by giving way and simulating defeat the adversary may be lulled into dropping his guard; then, when the adversary has advanced too far and is off balance, he is destroyed by a quick recovery and a lightning attack where he is weakest.

I have no fear that our military authorities are likely to be taken in by any military application of the jujitsu principles. I do feel, however, that the American people and the people of nations united with them in war on Japan should be forewarned against the possibility of a jujitsu feint in the realm of diplomacy—namely, a peace offensive. The Japanese are

capable of preparing the ground for such an offensive with elaborate care. That is to say, the military leaders might begin by bringing forth from retirement some former statesman with a liberal label and placing him at the head of a puppet civilian cabinet. This step would be heralded as representing the overthrow of military dictatorship in favor of liberalism. The scene would then be set for a peace move. There might be an announcement by the new premier intimating that Japan was ready to conclude a peace on a fair and just basis. If the United Nations were willing to rise to the bait before awaiting at least the clearing of the Japanese armed forces from the territories that they have seized, so much the better for Japan; but even if the United Nations should insist on such withdrawal as a prerequisite to a peace parley, such a Japanese move would still seem to its authors worthwhile if it should have chance of deceiving some of the peoples among the United Nations and rendering them lukewarm toward the further prosecution of the war. The Japanese might well calculate that by the time they were ready to launch such a peace offensive their peace-loving enemies would be so weary of the war that they would be receptive to peace offers; that once an armistice had been declared and negotiations begun it would be difficult to get their enemies to resume fighting again even if the Japanese were to hold out for partial retention of their gains.

It is believed that the American people in being forewarned against deceptive Japanese peace moves should be made to realize that the only safe course for the United Nations to take in the presence of such moves will be to keep in mind the President's words to Congress on December 8, 1941 that "We will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again", and that we continue to press our operations against Japan until she has no alternative to admitting defeat and submitting to disarmament. If the United Nations were to begin discussing peace with Japan or Germany while she is still armed, the only

peace to which such a procedure could lead would be an armed truce to be followed by even more bitter warfare.

Members of the Women's National Republican Club and guests, I believe that more than anything else today we are consecrated to the principle of national unity. Our parties, Democratic, Republican, or other, are constructive organizations only so far as they help our America, our government, and our armed forces. Our wealth is of value only as a means to war. Today only victory matters. Nothing is easier to lose than freedom; once lost, it is known to be the most precious of all things.

I have shown you what happens to women—indeed, to everyone—under the militarism which has corrupted Germany and Japan and which now threatens the world. I have described for you how the Axis wages war and why the Axis wages war. Truly may it be said: "Their object is crime and their method, death." And I have sought to warn you against the insidious menace of a shameful "peace", an armistice which would allow militarism to flower again in the next generation, when a new crop of infantrymen—sons of oppressed, ignorant mothers—would be ready for the harvest of war.

We are faced with an immense task. The war is the greatest war ever fought. The United Nations are the greatest coalition of free peoples ever formed; our ranks in this war are immeasurably strengthened by the active aid and partnership of the three largest countries of the world, China, Great Britain, and Russia. We shall control all the seas and the air of the world. We shall be able to do this only by virtue of putting forth our maximum efforts here in America. We can and we must mold the world of the future. But to do this we must discipline ourselves in self-denial; we must exert ourselves to the full extent of our several capacities. We must work and save and unite; we must day in and day out cultivate patience, determination, endurance, and courage. This war, which originated so long ago in the beer halls of Munich and the secret haunts of the military extremists in Tokyo, can and will be ended in the shipyards, the factories, the farms, the office and conference rooms, and the homes of America where, thank heaven, the women still preside. To be wise and at the same time womanly is to wield a force which can overcome great obstacles and can effectively influence the future destiny of the world.

REPLIES TO THE CHRISTMAS MESSAGE TO THE ARMED FORCES OF OUR ALLIES

[Released to the press January 11]

The following replies have been received to the President's message conveying the season's greetings to the armed forces and auxiliary services of our allies.

*Prime Minister Fraser of New Zealand
To President Roosevelt*

WELLINGTON, December 26, 1942.

I am most grateful to you and to Congress for the inspiring message which you have been good enough to transmit to me. The Government and people of New Zealand most warmly reciprocate the sentiments so admirably expressed in your message and extend to the armed forces and auxiliary services of the United

States of America who are so worthily upholding throughout the world the cause of freedom and justice, the most cordial good wishes for happiness and success in the coming year.

*President Batista of Cuba to Ambassador
Braden*

[Translation]

HABANA, December 26, 1942.

I have received your letter of the 24th inst. in which you transmit a message from His Excellency, Mr. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, addressed to the armed forces and auxiliary services of the allied forces that are engaged in the defense of freedom, justice and human rights.

In accordance with a Joint Resolution of the Congress of your country, President Roosevelt sends, through me, the best wishes and Christmas greetings, on behalf of the people of the United States, to the armed forces and auxiliary services of Cuba.

In informing His Excellency the President of the United States of the gratitude with which that cordial and friendly gesture was received by the armed forces of Cuba and by myself personally, I am asking you also to express to him our desire to transmit, on behalf of the armed forces and people of Cuba and as indicative of their sincere participation and that of the Cuban Government in the struggle in which they are now engaged, a cordial greeting to the brave soldiers of the United States who are now fulfilling their duty so admirably; and likewise to express to them our fervent hope that victory for our united armies and complete and permanent peace will be the result of that great effort.

I beg [etc.]

President Lescot of Haiti to President Roosevelt

[Translation]

DECEMBER 25, 1942.

On Christmas Eve, at the moment when an anxious Christian world awaits the historic hour to celebrate the anniversary of the birth of the Saviour of the world, I was extremely happy to receive the inspiring message which Your Excellency has been so good as to address, in his own name and that of the Congress and the people of the United States, to the Chief of State, the armed forces, and the people of Haiti.

This message, which has been read on this Christmas Eve wherever possible throughout the territory of Haiti and which is to be published in all the most remote corners of my country, has moved every heart by recalling how truly the gigantic and magnificent strength displayed by all the heroes who belong to the nations, great and small, united without distinction of race or religion in the defense of liberty, justice, and the rights of man and who,

in all latitudes and at every moment, form with their chests a bulwark raised against the unchained forces of evil, in order to bring to the world peace, liberty, and progress of human welfare.

Thank you, Mr. President, for recalling this. It is with a heart overflowing with gratitude toward you, who encourage so eloquently the Chiefs of State, loyal until death to the noble cause to which they have pledged themselves, to you who offer such a brilliant example of faith in the certain triumph of our arms, that in my own name, in the name of the Haitian armed forces and of the Haitian people I beg of you to accept the wishes which, for you, your heroic and powerful armies, and for the generous people of the United States, we place at the feet of the God of Justice and Love, to whom are entrusted the rescuing armies of Christian civilization.

*Prime Minister Curtin of Australia
To President Roosevelt*

CANBERRA, December 31, 1942.

I ask you to be good enough to convey to the Congress of the United States the sincere thanks of the Government and people of Australia for the message of greetings and good wishes from the United States to the armed forces and auxiliary services of Australia. The message has been deeply appreciated by all our land, sea and air forces, who are firmly united with their Allies in the resolve to wage war against the aggressor nations until complete victory has been attained and a sure basis for world peace established. I express my thanks to you for your personal wishes and greetings to the armed forces and auxiliary services of Australia.

The Viceroy of India to President Roosevelt

On behalf of the armed forces and auxiliary services of India as well as the Princes and the people of this country I thank you, Mr. President, and the Congress of the U. S., most warmly for your heartening message and your greetings. We are proud to have amongst us, at this time, the splendid units of United States

forces. We welcome their presence, not only for what they are themselves but also as a symbol of that solidarity, goodwill and cooperation which have welded the people of the United Nations into a mighty and invincible weapon of war, and which, when victory has been won, are tools that we shall all need to build a new and better world. Side by side with their allies, the soldiers and people of India await resolutely whatever test of faith and endurance the future may bring, confident that they can resist all assaults of the common enemy, and that, with their Allied comrades-in-arms, they will, in due time, move forward to grapple with him and bring him to the dust. We send to you, to the Congress of the U. S., and to all the forces of the U. S. wherever they may be on sea, on land, and in the air, our greetings, and join with you in the hope and prayer that the New Year may bring near the day when our efforts shall be crowned with victory and may bring with it also peace and goodwill amongst all the peoples of the world.

*President Ubico of Guatemala
To President Roosevelt*

[Translation]

I have the honor to express thanks for the generous message of the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, in the noble sentiments of which I join. Once more, on this war Christmas, I express my fervid desires for the definitive success which is bound to be won by the soldiers of liberty and justice who are now engaged in tenacious conflict against the instruments of oppression on all the coasts and in every quarter of the world where the rights of peoples have been attacked. With great satisfaction on my part there have been transmitted to the armed forces of Guatemala the Christmas wishes and greetings sent to them by President Roosevelt and the Congress and people of the United States of America as well as the fervent hope and prayer for an early and complete victory and an enduring peace which the Honorable Congressmen formulated in a Joint Resolution to express sincere wishes for the triumph of the cause of the Allied Nations to the end that future Christmases may find

restored to their homes the men who today are suffering and sacrificing for the freedom of all peoples.

Prime Minister Smuts of the Union of South Africa to President Roosevelt

DECEMBER 30, 1942.

Your message of greetings and good wishes for the armed and auxiliary services of the Allies has been duly received and communicated to the armed and auxiliary forces of the Union of South Africa on behalf of the Government and People of South Africa and its Forces by Land, Air and Sea. I beg to convey to you our deep appreciation of your message which we not only accept for ourselves but reciprocate most cordially for the Armed Forces and Services of the United States of America. The People of South Africa are proud to have the high privilege of serving the cause of human liberation and peaceful progress in the company of the people of the United States of America and of our Allies. To that cause they have dedicated their full strength and for it they will wage this war until under God's blessing victory crowns the right.

*President Avila Camacho of Mexico
To President Roosevelt*

[Translation]

DECEMBER 31, 1942.

I have read with profound interest the message with which in conformity with the joint resolution of the Congress of the United States of America Your Excellency transmits an inspired greeting to the armed forces and auxiliary services of the United Nations. The people and Army of Mexico who have followed with admiration the heroic deeds of these men who, coming from the most opposite regions of the earth and from the most varied social environments, are at present joined in the confraternity of arms, formulate the most sincere wishes for the consummation of our common ideal. To their sacrifices, their privations and to the inestimable gift of their lives humanity owes, even now, the security of the coming into being of that world in which we all have placed

our hope. Cognizant of the responsibility which belongs to it, Mexico will spare no effort to collaborate in the defense of the hemisphere and to hasten the victory with its labor and its products. The successes gained this year are an augury of the final triumph. Therefore, in thanking you for your sincere words, confidently I hope that the troops of the United Nations may approach nearer in 1943 to the desired goal where this permanent peace to which Your Excellency refers may be found.

General de Gaulle to President Roosevelt

[Translation]

Mr. President, I have received and transmitted to the armed forces of Fighting France the good wishes which, in the name of the Congress of the United States, in your name, and in the name of the American people, you were good enough to send them. They will be gratefully received.

I am sure that I speak for all the soldiers, sailors, and flyers of Fighting France when, in my own name and in the name of the French National Committee, I request you to offer the Congress of the United States their warm thanks and to transmit to the American armed forces their fervent good wishes for them and the assurance of the pleasure which they feel in fighting beside them to bring about the triumph of freedom and justice in the world.

Prime Minister Tsouderos of Greece to President Roosevelt

In the name of the Greek armed forces of land, sea and air which are today fighting to the very limit of their strength for the liberation of the Greek territories now under occupation and for the triumph of our common ideals throughout the world, I express to you, Mr. President, and to the Congress of the United States my warmest thanks for your good wishes which I cordially reciprocate.

The Greek forces are happy to be standing at the side of your great country which they hold in especial admiration. Eagerly they await the impending great battle of the Medi-

terranean in the course of which they will have the opportunity to fight in the company of the soldiers, the sailors and the airmen of the United States. They believe unswervingly in the final victory. I avail myself of this opportunity to convey to you my most cordial wishes for the New Year.

Minister of State Dupong, President of the Luxembourg Government in Montreal, to President Roosevelt

[Translation]

It is with emotion that I received the message of prayer and hope which, in the name of the Congress, the American people, and yourself, you asked me to transmit to our soldiers in the Allied armies. No news could more encourage our valiant fighters during this holiday season. Wherever they are, no matter what branch of the service they have chosen, they will receive it with gratitude and enthusiasm. It will inspire them in their fight for the cause of the United Nations, which at the same time is the cause of their native country. Numbers of them are young Luxembourgeois who have joined the Allied forces even before the events which made a German concentration camp of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. Others succeeded in escaping from the hands of their jailers to attain the same objective after heroic tribulations. They will all respond I am sure to the wishes and greetings which the Congress has expressed in their regard in its resolution with redoubled energy in their fight for liberty and justice.

The certitude of victory which is given them by the presence in the Allied ranks of the inexhaustible moral and material forces of the United States and the vision of a new era of peace with justice and national and social gratitude will make them accept with a joyous heart the sacrifices which the glorious achievement of their task will impose.

For my part, in the name of the Grand-Ducal Government and as interpreter of the sentiments of the Luxembourgeois, I wish most sincerely for the glory of American forces. May God bless them and give them victory!

THE PROCLAIMED LIST: CUMULATIVE SUPPLEMENT 3 TO REVISION IV

[Released to the press January 16]

The Secretary of State, acting in conjunction with the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, the Board of Economic Warfare, and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, on January 16 issued Cumulative Supplement 3 to Revision IV of the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals, promulgated November 12, 1942.

Cumulative Supplement 3 to Revision IV supersedes Cumulative Supplement 2 dated December 18, 1942.

Part I of Cumulative Supplement 3 contains 334 additional listings in the other American republics and 41 deletions. Part II contains 120

additional listings outside of the American republics and 21 deletions.

LEND-LEASE AID TO LIBERIA

The following letter, addressed by the President to E. R. Stettinius, Jr., Lend-Lease Administrator, was made public at the White House January 11:

"For purposes of implementing the authority conferred upon you as Lend-Lease Administrator by Executive Order No. 8926, dated October 28, 1941, and in order to enable you to arrange for lend-lease aid with the Government of Liberia, I hereby find that the defense of Liberia is vital to the defense of the United States."

The Far East

TREATY WITH CHINA FOR RELINQUISHMENT OF EXTRATERRITORIAL RIGHTS IN CHINA

[Released to the press January 11]

The treaty and accompanying exchange of notes, signed January 11, 1943, between the Governments of the United States and China provide for the relinquishment by the United States of the extraterritorial and other special privileges which under treaty provisions the United States has hitherto exercised, as have other countries, in China and for the adjustment of various matters in connection with this relinquishment.

Among the more important provisions are the following:

Upon the coming into effect of the treaty, the United States relinquishes its extraterritorial jurisdiction; relinquishes special rights accorded under the "Boxer Protocol" of 1901, including rights in relation to the stationing of troops in China; and relinquishes special rights in relation to the system of treaty ports and in

relation to the Diplomatic Quarter at Peiping and to the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy, including the special courts at Shanghai. The two Governments agree to cooperate for the reaching of any necessary agreements with other Governments for the transfer to the Chinese Government of the administration and control of the International Settlements and the Diplomatic Quarter at Peiping, the Chinese Government to make provision for the assumption and discharge of the official assets and liabilities of the Settlements and of the Diplomatic Quarter. The Chinese Government accords to the Government of the United States continuation of the right to use for official purposes the land allotted to the latter in the Diplomatic Quarter, upon parts of which stand buildings belonging to the United States Government.

Existing rights or titles of American nationals with regard to real property in China

are to be indefeasible; such property is to be subject to Chinese laws concerning taxation, national defense, and eminent domain. American nationals in China are to be accorded rights to travel, reside, and carry on trade in China similar to rights that have long been accorded Chinese nationals throughout the United States. Each country is to endeavor to have accorded to nationals of the other treatment not less favorable than that enjoyed by its own nationals in regard to legal proceedings, the administration of justice, and the levying of taxes.

Consular officers of each country are to reside in such places as may be agreed upon. They are to have the right to interview and to communicate with nationals of their country, are to be informed immediately whenever any such nationals are under detention or in prison or are awaiting trial, and may visit any such nationals and receive communications from them.

The United States relinquishes special rights in relation to inland navigation and the coasting trade and special rights hitherto enjoyed by American naval vessels in Chinese waters. Should either country accord rights of inland navigation or coasting trade to vessels of any third country such rights are to be accorded vessels of the other country. Each country is to be accorded the rights which are customary and normal in modern international relations in regard to the admission of merchant vessels into ports open to overseas merchant shipping, treatment of merchant vessels in such ports, visits by naval vessels, et cetera. In the light of the abolition of treaty ports as such, China agrees that all coastal ports in Chinese territory normally open to American overseas merchant shipping are to remain open to such shipping.

At a suitable time the two Governments are to enter into negotiations for the conclusion of a comprehensive modern treaty of friendship, commerce, navigation, and consular rights; and

meanwhile questions affecting the rights of American nationals in China not covered by the treaty or by subsisting provisions of earlier treaties or agreements are to be decided in accordance with generally accepted principles of international law.

The treaty and the exchange of notes will be submitted to the Senate and are to come into force upon the exchange of ratifications.

The Chinese Government and the British Government also signed a treaty on extraterritoriality at Chungking on January 11.

[Released to the press January 11]

Upon the signing on January 11 of a treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of China for the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights in China and the regulation of related matters, the Secretary of State made the following statement:

"It gives every official of this Government and every citizen of the United States much satisfaction, I am sure, to have this treaty concluded with our great friend and associate in arms, China. All of us have looked forward to this day and it is especially gratifying to me personally that it falls to my lot to sign this significant treaty on behalf of the American Government."

The Chinese Ambassador, His Excellency Dr. Wei Tao-ming, made the following remarks:

"The signing at Washington today of the new treaty between China and the United States—both democratic nations on the Pacific and now engaged in the common battle for freedom—is indeed an event of great significance and will further strengthen the friendly relations long subsisting between our two peoples. I feel it a great honor and privilege to sign this treaty on behalf of the National Government of the Republic of China."

[Released to the press January 12]

The following messages have been exchanged between the President of the United States and His Excellency Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and between the Secretary of State and the Honorable T. V. Soong, Foreign Minister of China, in regard to the signature of the new American-Chinese treaty:

*General Chiang Kai-shek to President
Roosevelt*

I take much pleasure in expressing to you the deep gratification of the Chinese Government and people at the signing of the new treaty between our two countries today. It is to me a signal proof of the solidarity among the United Nations not only for the purposes of the war but for the winning of the peace.

*President Roosevelt to General Chiang
Kai-shek*

I appreciate your telegram of January 11 in regard to the signing on that day of the new American-Chinese treaty. The people and the Government of the United States share the gratification of the Government and people of China in the accomplishment of this step which we have long wanted to take. I feel that it is a step which evidences our common commitment to high purposes in the conduct of human affairs and as such will, I am confident, further the cause of the United Nations in our struggle toward victory and a better world.

*Foreign Minister T. V. Soong
To Secretary Hull*

I wish to congratulate you and our two countries on the signing of the treaty today which I am confident will further cement the friendly relations between China and the United States.

*Secretary Hull to Foreign Minister
T. V. Soong*

I thank you for your telegram of January 11.

It has been our constant endeavor to move in every possible way toward the strengthening of the traditional bonds of friendship between the United States and China and I feel with you that the newly signed American-Chinese treaty will well serve that purpose.

American Republics

DEATH OF GENERAL JUSTO OF ARGENTINA

[Released to the press January 11]

The Secretary of State has made the following statement:

"I have been deeply grieved to learn of the sad death of that great Argentine soldier and statesman, His Excellency General Agustín P. Justo. General Justo was undoubtedly one of the outstanding men in the history of the Argentine Republic. I had the privilege of knowing him personally, during my visit to Buenos Aires in 1936 at the time of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace. At that time I came to admire and respect his many fine qualities, and his broad outlook on inter-American affairs, as President of the Argentine nation. His illustrious name will always be honored in the United States because of his spontaneous and whole-hearted message of solidarity and friendship on the occasion of Pearl Harbor, and of his continuous staunch and outspoken support of the United Nations in their fight to assure the liberty and independence of free peoples everywhere. His death is a great loss to his Argentine compatriots, to his fellow Americans in the other republics, and to the entire civilized world."

Cultural Relations

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS FROM THE OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS

[Released to the press January 14]

Senhor Caio Julio Cesar Vieira, well-known Brazilian journalist representing the dailies *O Jornal* and *Diario da Noite*, organs of the Diarios Associados of Rio de Janeiro, arrived in the United States January 10, as a guest of the Department of State.

While in this country Senhor Vieira plans to interview officials on the war situation and on the relations now existing between Brazil and the United States; to study the principal aspects of cultural interchange between Brazil and the United States, with suggestions as to what can be done to further this interchange; and in general to gather data on economic and commercial relations between the two countries.

ADVISORY COMMITTEES ON MUSIC AND ART FOR 1942-43

[Released to the press January 16]

The Department of State has announced the appointment for the fiscal year 1942-43 of the membership of the Advisory Committee on Music and the Advisory Committee on Art. The purpose of these Committees is to advise the Department, through the Division of Cultural Relations, regarding the stimulation of musical and artistic interchange among the American republics and the coordination of activities in this country which concern inter-American music. The Committees will also serve the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in a similar capacity.

The following leaders in the music world have accepted the invitation to membership on the Music Committee:

James R. Angell, Litt.D., Public Service Counselor, National Broadcasting Company, Inc., RCA Building, Radio City, New York, N. Y.
 Aaron Copland, President, American Composers Alliance, New York, N. Y.
 Olin Downes, Mus.D., Music Critic of *The New York Times*, New York, N. Y.
 Benny Goodman, Music Corporation of America, 745 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
 Melville Herskovits, Ph.D., Professor of Anthropology, Northwestern University, 2016 Harrison Street, Evanston, Ill.
 Edwin Hughes, President, National Music Council, 338 West Eighty-ninth Street, New York, N. Y.
 Alain Locke, Ph.D., Howard University, Washington, D. C.
 Lilla Belle Pitts, President, Music Educators National Conference, Associate Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
 John Sengstack, President, Standard Music Publishers Company, 119 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York, N. Y.
 Carleton Sprague Smith, Ph.D., Chief of the Music Division, New York Public Library, New York, N. Y.
 Davidson Taylor, Assistant to the Vice President, Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., New York, N. Y.
 Deems Taylor, Mus.D., President, American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

The following members of the Art Committee have indicated acceptance:

John E. Abbott, Executive Vice President, Museum of Modern Art, 11 West Fifty-third Street, New York, N. Y.
 George Biddle, Painter and Sculptor, Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.
 Robert Woods Bliss, President, American Federation of Arts, Barr Building, Washington, D. C.
 Stephen Carlton Clark, Vice President, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 149 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
 René d'Harnoncourt, General Manager, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Office of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.
 Grace McCann Morley, Ph.D., Director, San Francisco Museum of Art, San Francisco, Calif.
 Daniel Catton Rich, Director of Fine Arts, Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Francis Henry Taylor, Director, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.
 George C. Vaillant, Ph.D., Director, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

The Department

THE DIVISIONS OF POLITICAL STUDIES AND OF ECONOMIC STUDIES

By Departmental Order 1124, of January 14, 1943, the Secretary of State established in the Department of State, effective January 1, 1943, a Division of Political Studies and a Division of Economic Studies, which shall function under the general supervision of Mr. Leo Pasvolsky in his capacity as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State. The order sets forth the functions of the two new divisions as follows:

"The Division of Political Studies shall have responsibility for the conduct of continuing and special research, for the preparation of studies required in the formulation of policies, the planning of integrated programs as a basis for action in the field of foreign political relations affecting the interests of the United States, with particular reference to the long-range implications of current policies, actions and developments in this field affecting post-war political reconstruction, and for the formulation of appropriate recommendations with respect to the foregoing. In carrying out these responsibilities, the Division of Political Studies shall cooperate fully and maintain effective liaison with other divisions and offices of the Department, in particular the Division of Economic Studies, with other departments and agencies, and with interdepartmental and intergovernmental agencies having joint interest or authority in the field of activity.

"Mr. Harley A. Notter is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. Durward V. Sandifer, Mr. Philip E. Mosely, and Mr. S. Shepard Jones are hereby designated Assistant Chiefs of the Division of Political Studies, the symbol designation of which shall be PS.

"The Division of Economic Studies shall have responsibility for the conduct of continuing and special research and for the preparation of studies required in the formulation of policies and the planning of integrated programs as a basis for action in the field of foreign eco-

nomie relations affecting the interests of the United States, with particular reference to the long-range implications of current policies, actions and developments in this field affecting post-war economic reconstruction, and for the formulation of appropriate recommendations with regard to the foregoing. In carrying out these responsibilities, the Division of Economic Studies shall cooperate fully and maintain effective liaison with other divisions and offices of the Department, in particular the Division of Political Studies, with other departments and agencies and with interdepartmental and intergovernmental agencies having joint interest or authority in the field of activity.

"Mr. Leroy D. Stinebower is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. H. Julian Wadleigh is hereby designated an Assistant Chief of the Division of Economic Studies, the symbol designation of which shall be ES.

"The various divisions and offices of the Department shall cooperate fully and maintain effective liaison with the Division of Political Studies and the Division of Economic Studies and, in particular, they shall keep those divisions fully informed of current policy decisions, activities and developments in their respective political and economic fields, inviting their participation whenever feasible and appropriate in the formulation of policy decisions having long-range implications, and shall route to them for their information or advice communications and other material of a policy character falling within the scope of their responsibilities or interests.

"There is hereby established a Committee on Special Studies, the purpose of which shall be to facilitate the carrying out of the responsibilities defined in this Order. Mr. Pasvolsky shall be the Chairman of the Committee on Special Studies, the other members of which shall be the Chiefs of the Divisions of Political

Studies and Economic Studies, and such other officers as may be designated by the Secretary of State.

"The Division of Special Research is hereby abolished and its personnel, equipment and other facilities are hereby transferred to the new divisions."

THE OFFICE OF FOREIGN RELIEF AND REHABILITATION OPERATIONS

[Released to the press January 16]

The Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, Director of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, on January 16 announced the principal members of his staff, who already are operating in their new capacities.

Selection of the Honorable Francis B. Sayre, former American High Commissioner to the Philippines and former Assistant Secretary of State, as Deputy Director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations and Special Assistant to the Secretary of State was announced on December 31.

Hugh R. Jackson, Special Assistant to the Director, formerly was Chief of Operations of the Civilian Mobilization Branch of the United States Office of Civilian Defense. Previously he worked as Associate Secretary of the New York State Charities Aid Association. In 1939 he was Director of Public Assistance in the Department of Welfare of New York City, organizing and directing the Bureau of Public Assistance. In 1940 he became Acting First Deputy Commissioner of the Department of Welfare. In 1934 he was Executive Secretary of the Planning Committee of the New York Temporary Emergency Relief Administration and in the same year was Executive Secretary and Director of Research of the New York Governor's Commission on Unemployment Relief.

Dewey Anderson will deal with problems of supply and transportation. A former faculty member of Stanford University, former California State Relief Administrator, and former member of the California Legislature, Mr. Anderson came to the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations from the

Board of Economic Warfare, where he served as Chief of the American Hemisphere Division. He previously was Secretary of the Temporary National Economic Committee. He also has served as Co-Director of the Institute of Occupational Research, Stanford University; Director of Research in Economic Problems for the John Randolph and Dora Haynes Foundation at Los Angeles; and Member of the Board of Directors, Western Association of Public Administration.

Kenneth Dayton will deal with financial and budgetary matters. Mr. Dayton was Director of the Budget in New York City from 1937 until December 1942 and has worked in fiscal affairs of New York City since 1935.

The development and determination of relief programs and requirements will be dealt with by Luther Gulick. Mr. Gulick was Director of Organizational Planning for the War Production Board, on leave from the Institute of Public Administration of which he is Director, and from Columbia University, at which he is Professor of Municipal Finance and Administration. In the 1936-38 period he worked with the President's Committee on Administration Management in survey work which became the basis for presidential reorganization of the Federal Government.

Field operations will be in charge of Lt. Gen. William N. Haskell. General Haskell, who will become the chief operating officer in extension of relief to suffering populations, has an extensive background in such work as a result of his service under Herbert Hoover immediately after the first World War. He served as Chief of the Anglo-American Food Mission to Rumania in 1919 and in 1920 as Allied High Commissioner to Armenia representing Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States to coordinate relief work in Armenia and the Trans-Caucasus. In September 1921 he organized and headed the American Relief Administration Mission to Russia which, at the peak of its operations, fed nearly 11,000,000 destitute people daily. Coincidentally with his Russian work he also served as Chief of the American Red Cross Mission for Greece, handling relief work for Greek and Armenian refugees from the Smyrna

disaster. More recently he served under Mr. Lehman, then Governor of New York State, as Director of Civilian Protection in New York State.

Public information concerning relief and rehabilitation activities will be in charge of Thomas F. Reynolds. Mr. Reynolds was White House correspondent for the *Chicago Sun* since that paper was founded and previously served as White House correspondent for the United Press Associations. Prior to that time he worked for the United Press in Atlanta, Ga., and the Middle West, and for several daily newspapers in the Middle West.

Myres S. McDougal has been appointed General Counsel in Mr. Lehman's Office. Mr. McDougal formerly was Assistant General Counsel for the Lend-Lease Administration and was Counsel to the Attorney General in the trial of eight German saboteurs last summer. He also served on the staff of the Baruch Rubber Survey Committee. Prior to his service in the Government he served as Professor of Law, Yale Law School, and was Chairman of the Yale University Faculty Committee on post-war planning.

Charles F. Darlington is Executive Officer of the relief and rehabilitation organization. Mr. Darlington previously was Consultant to the Division of Commercial Policy and Agreements in the Department of State. He was formerly a member of the Financial Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations at Geneva, Switzerland, on the staff of the Bank of International Settlements at Basel, Switzerland, and later with General Motors' Overseas Operations as Foreign Exchange Manager. From 1935 to 1939 he was Assistant Chief of the Division of Trade Agreements in the Department of State.

George Xanthaky will serve as one of Mr. Lehman's Staff Assistants. Mr. Xanthaky formerly was Assistant Counsel to Mr. Lehman in his capacity as Governor of New York State, and Assistant to the New York State War Plans Coordinator. Since 1939 he has served as Mr. Lehman's appointee on the Joint Representative Committee to revise the

New York State law relating to municipal taxation.

Roy Veatch will assist in dealing with problems of international relations. Mr. Veatch previously was in charge of relief and rehabilitation work in the Division of Special Research, Department of State. Prior to that work he was Assistant Chief of the Relief and Reconstruction Section of the Board of Economic Warfare and had worked as Associate Executive Secretary of United China Relief and Executive Secretary of the Council on Refugee Aid.

Miss Carolin Flexner has also been appointed as Staff Assistant. Miss Flexner worked for many years with Mr. Lehman during his service as Governor of New York State and assisted in his philanthropic and social-welfare activities. She has had wide experience in working with organizations in the field of national and international relief.

WITHDRAWAL OF THE SPECIAL ASSISTANT IN CHARGE OF THE OFFICE OF FOREIGN TERRITORIES

[Released to the press January 15]

The following letter has been sent by the Secretary of State to the Honorable Paul H. Appleby, Under Secretary of Agriculture:

JANUARY 15, 1943.

MY DEAR MR. APPLEBY:

Although it was fully understood that you would be unable to assist me for more than a comparatively brief period, it is nevertheless with the greatest regret that I have accepted your withdrawal from the Department on January ninth as my Special Assistant in Charge of the Office of Foreign Territories. Your assistance in the inauguration of this office and in dealing with matters of a non-military character which arose in connection with the occupation of North Africa, tasks for which you were uniquely qualified, is greatly appreciated. I wish to express to you my warmest thanks.

Sincerely yours,

CORDELL HULL

International Conferences, Commissions, Etc.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONS, COMMITTEES, BOARDS, ETC., CONCERNED WITH THE WAR

The following list includes only organizations on which the United States has representation. It does not purport to be a complete roster of the international agencies established among the United Nations to deal with the various phases of the war. Suggested additions or corrections to this list should be directed to the Editor of the BULLETIN.

ALLIED SUPPLY COUNCIL (United States and Australia)

LOCATION:
Australia

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

Upon the invitation of the Australian Government, a United States representative was appointed to this Council. According to the *Australian Official Short-wave News* of May 5, 1942, the primary purpose of the Council is to coordinate plans and advise on the present and potential supplies, of all sorts, available from Australian sources.

MEMBERSHIP:

United States representative:

Col. Royal J. Jenks, United States Army, *Vice Chairman of the Council*

Australian representatives:

The Hon. J. A. Beasley, Minister for Supply and Development, and Shipping, *Chairman of the Council*

The Hon. N. J. O. Makin, Minister for the Navy and Minister for Munitions

The Hon. R. V. Keane, Minister for Trade and Customs and Vice President of the Executive Council

The Hon. J. J. Dedman, Minister for War Organization of Industry and Minister in Charge of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research

J. Nolan, *Chairman of the Allied Supply Standing Committee*

ANGLO-AMERICAN CARIBBEAN COMMISSION

LOCATION:

Room 316, Barr Building, 910 Seventeenth Street, Washington; REpublic 5600 (State), extension 2612.

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

A joint *communiqué* released simultaneously in Washington and London (March 9, 1942) announced the creation of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission to encourage and strengthen "social and economic cooperation between the United States of America and its possessions and bases in the area known geographically and politically as the Caribbean, and the United Kingdom and the British colonies in the same area, and to avoid unnecessary duplication of research in these fields". According to the announcement, "members of the Commission will concern themselves primarily with matters pertaining to labor, agriculture, housing, health, education, social welfare, finance, economics, and related subjects in the territories under the British and United States flags within this territory".—

MEMBERSHIP:

United States Section:

Charles W. Taussig, of New York, *Co-chairman*
Rexford G. Tugwell, Governor of Puerto Rico
Coert du Bois, Chief of the Caribbean Office, Department of State

S. Burns Weston, of Ohio, *Secretary*

British Section:

Sir Frank Stockdale, Comptroller of the British West Indies Welfare and Development Fund, *Co-chairman*

Sir Rupert Briarcliffe, Medical Adviser to the British West Indies Welfare and Development Fund

Hon. John Huggins, formerly Colonial Secretary, Government of Trinidad and Tobago.

THE COMBINED CHIEFS OF STAFF

LOCATION:

Public Health Service Building, Nineteenth and Constitution Avenue; REpublic 6700 (War), extension 71469 (Col. Hammond).

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

Established by the United States and Great Britain, as announced by the War Department February 6, 1942, to insure complete coordination of the war effort of Great Britain and the United States, including the production and distribution of their war supplies, and to provide for full British and American collabora-

tion with the United Nations now associated in the prosecution of the war against the Axis powers.¹

MEMBERSHIP:

United States Joint Chiefs of Staff:

Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief of the United States Army and Navy

Gen. George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff

Admiral Ernest J. King, Commander in Chief of the United States Fleet and Chief of Naval Operations

Lt. Gen. Henry H. Arnold, Commanding General, Army Air Forces

Representatives of the British Chiefs of Staff:

Field Marshal Sir John Dill

Rear Admiral W. R. Patterson

Lt. Gen. G. N. Macready

Air Marshal D. C. S. Evill

United States Secretariat:

Brig. Gen. John R. Deane, *Secretary*

Comdr. L. R. McDowell, *Deputy Secretary*

Lt. Col. T. W. Hammond, Jr., *the Assistant Secretary (Executive)*

British Secretariat:

Brig. V. Dykes, *Secretary*

Comdr. the Honorable R. D. Coleridge, *Deputy Secretary*

COMBINED FOOD BOARD (United States and Great Britain)

LOCATION:

South Building, Department of Agriculture; REpublic 4142, extension 4691.

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The creation of the Combined Food Board was announced by the President June 9, 1942, and was established by Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt to obtain a planned and expeditious utilization of the food resources of the United Nations, in order to coordinate further the prosecution of the war effort.

The duties of the Board are to consider, investigate, and formulate plans with regard to any question relating to the supply, production, transportation, disposal, allocation or distribution, in or to any part of the world, of foods, agricultural materials from which foods are derived, and equipment and non-food materials ancillary to the production of such foods and agricultural materials. It works in collaboration with others of the United Nations toward the best utilization of their food resources, and, in collaboration with

the interested nation or nations, formulates plans and recommendations for the development, expansion, purchase, or other effective use of their food resources.

MEMBERSHIP:

United States:

Claude Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture

Paul H. Appleby, Under Secretary of Agriculture, *Adviser*

Leslie A. Wheeler, Director of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture, *Joint Executive Officer*

Robert B. Schwenger, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture, *Deputy Executive Officer*

Great Britain:

R. H. Brand, Chairman of British Supply Council and Head of British Food Mission

E. Twentyman, Senior Member, British Food Mission, *Adviser*

Maurice I. Hutton, British Food Mission, *Joint Executive Officer*

Eric Roll, British Food Mission, *Deputy Executive Officer*

MEMBERSHIP OF THE INTER-AGENCY COMMITTEE:

Franz Schneider, War Shipping Administration

Richard M. Bissell, Jr., War Shipping Administration, *alternate*

Dean G. Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State

Dr. Herbert Feis, Adviser on International Economic Affairs, Department of State

Leroy D. Stinebower, Department of State, *alternate*

Dr. W. Y. Elliott, War Production Board

John L. Pratt, Office of Lend-Lease Administration

Dr. E. W. Gaumnitz, Board of Economic Warfare

Roy Hendrickson, Agricultural Marketing Administration

S. B. Bledsoe, Office of Agricultural War Relations

J. A. Scott Watson, British Agricultural Attaché in Washington

E. Twentyman, British Food Mission

COMBINED PRODUCTION AND RESOURCES BOARD

(United States, Great Britain, and Canada)

LOCATION:

Social Security Building, Fourth and Independence Ave. SW.; REpublic 7500 (War Agencies), extension 73161 (Mr. Gregg).

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The Combined Production and Resources Board was created by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, according to a White House press release of June 9, 1942, "in order to complete the organization needed for the most effective use of the combined resources of the United States and the

¹ Other United Nations maintain military and naval representatives for liaison with the Combined Chiefs of Staff.

United Kingdom in the prosecution of the war". The functions of the Board are to "combine the production programs of the United States and the United Kingdom into a single integrated program, adjusted to the strategic requirements of the war . . . and to all relevant production factors; . . . take account of the need for maximum utilization of the productive resources available to the United States, the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the United Nations, the need to reduce demands on shipping to a minimum, and the essential needs of the civilian populations"; and "in close collaboration with the Combined Chiefs of Staff, assure the continuous adjustment of the combined production program to meet changing military requirements. . . ."

On November 10, 1942, the Office of War Information announced that Canada had become a full member of the Board because of the "very close relations" in the production field which already exist among Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom.

MEMBERSHIP:

United States Section:

Donald Nelson, Chairman, War Production Board, *Member*

Milton Katz, Solicitor, War Production Board, *Executive Officer*

John P. Gregg, *Secretary*

In London:

W. Averell Harriman, Lend-Lease Coordinator, *Representative*

Phillip D. Reed, *Deputy Representative*

British Section:

Capt. Oliver Lytellton, British Minister of Production, *Member*

Sir Robert J. Sinclair, Director General of Army Requirements, British War Office, *Deputy Member*

T. H. Brand, British War Cabinet Secretariat in London, *Executive Officer*

P. Hayward, *Secretary*

Canadian Section:

C. D. Howe, Canadian Minister of Munitions and Supply, *Member*

E. P. Taylor, *Deputy Member*

COMBINED RAW MATERIALS BOARD (United States and Great Britain)

LOCATION:

United States group: Social Security Building, Fourth and Independence Avenue SW., room 3051; REpublic 7500 (War Agencies), extension 2212 (Mr. Batt) and 3921 (Mr. Sykes).

British group: The Bradford, 1800 K Street, REpublic 7860, extension 242 (Sir Clive Baillieu) and 187 (Mr. Archer); also Social Security Building, room 3051 (Mr. Archer), REpublic 7500 (War Agencies), extension 2454.

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The Combined Raw Materials Board was set up by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill (White House press release of January 26, 1942) to "plan the best and speediest development, expansion and use of the raw-material resources, under the jurisdiction or control of the two Governments", and, in collaboration with others of the United Nations, to "work toward the best utilization of their raw-material resources", and, in collaboration with the interested nation or nations, to "formulate plans and recommendations for the development, expansion, purchase, or other effective use of their raw materials."

MEMBERSHIP:

United States:

William L. Batt, Vice Chairman, War Production Board, *Chairman*

Howard C. Sykes, *Deputy Member and Executive Secretary*

George C. McGhee, *Deputy Executive Secretary*

Robert A. Gordon, *Coordinator of United States Information*

Great Britain:

Sir Clive Baillieu, Head of the British Raw Materials Mission in the United States

George Archer, Deputy to the Secretary General, British Raw Materials Mission, *Executive Secretary*

A. D. Marris, Counselor, British Embassy, *Deputy Executive Secretary*

Paul Goldberg, *Coordinator of British Information*

OPERATING COMMITTEE OF THE COMBINED RAW MATERIALS BOARD:

Membership:

Howard C. Sykes, United States Deputy Member and Executive Secretary, Combined Raw Materials Board, *Chairman*

George Archer, British Executive Secretary, Combined Raw Materials Board; and Deputy to the Secretary General, British Raw Materials Mission

Herbert Feis, Adviser on International Economic Affairs, Department of State	} Joint Representation, United States Department of State
Thomas K. Finletter, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State	

A. D. Marris, Counselor, British Embassy; British Deputy Executive Secretary, Combined Raw Materials Board

Morris S. Rosenthal, Assistant Director, Board of Economic Warfare

Simon Strauss, Assistant Vice President, Metals Reserve Company, Reconstruction Finance Corporation

Robert A. Gordon, Coordinator of United States Information, Combined Raw Materials Board

COMBINED SHIPPING ADJUSTMENT BOARD (United States and Great Britain)

LOCATION IN WASHINGTON:

Department of Commerce Building, Fourteenth and Constitution Avenue, room 4713; REpublic 6620 (Maritime Commission), extension 78 (Mr. Scoll).

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The Combined Shipping Adjustment Board was set up by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, according to a White House press release of January 26, 1942, "to adjust and concert in one harmonious policy the work of the British Ministry of War Transport and the shipping authorities of the United States Government". An Executive order of February 7, 1942 (No. 9054) established a War Shipping Administration in the Executive Office of the President, which comprises the American section of the Combined Shipping Adjustment Board.

MEMBERSHIP:

In Washington:

United States representative:

Rear Admiral Emory S. Land (United States Navy, Retired), Chairman, United States Maritime Commission; Administrator, War Shipping Administration

British representative:

Sir Arthur Salter, Head of the British Shipping Mission in the United States

Joint executive officers:

David E. Scoll, Assistant to Administrator, War Shipping Administration

W. O. Hart

In London:

British representative:

Lord Leathers, Minister of War Transport

United States representative:

W. Averell Harriman, Lend-Lease Coordinator

THE EMERGENCY ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR POLITICAL DEFENSE

(Inter-American)

LOCATION:

Montevideo

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense was established pursuant to a resolution of the Third Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, held at Rio de Janeiro in January 1942. The Committee studies and recommends to each of the American governments members of the Pan American Union appropriate measures for the control of sabotage and all other types of subversive activities directed by extracontinental forces against the ideals and security of the Western Hemisphere. The Committee is made up of seven members, each representing the entire inter-American community rather than any one nation exclusively. The first meeting was held on April 15, 1942.

MEMBERSHIP:

From the United States:

Carl B. Spaeth, former Chief of the American Hemisphere Division of the Board of Economic Warfare and former Assistant Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs

Selden Chapin, Department of State, *Liaison Officer of United States Government*

William Sanders, *Adviser to Mr. Spaeth*

From Uruguay:

Dr. Alberto Guani, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay, *Chairman*

From Argentina:

Miguel A. Chiappe, Counselor of the Argentine Embassy in Uruguay

From Brazil:

Mario Pimentel Brandão, former Brazilian Ambassador to the United States

From Chile:

Ismael Valdés Florez

From Mexico:

Carlos Darío Ojeda, Mexican Ambassador to Uruguay

From Venezuela:

Eduardo Arroyo Lamedá, former Counselor of the Venezuelan Embassy in Colombia

Manuel A. Pulido Méndez

Secretary-General: Dr. José L. Chouy Terra (Montevideo, Uruguay)

INTER-ALLIED COMMITTEE ON POST-WAR REQUIREMENTS (Leith-Ross Committee)

LOCATION:

London

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The Inter-Allied Committee on Post-War Requirements was set up pursuant to a resolution of the representatives of European Allied Governments at their second meeting in London, held on September 24, 1941. The purpose of the Committee is to lay plans to secure "food, raw materials and articles of prime necessity" to be "made available for the post-war needs of countries liberated from Nazi oppression."

MEMBERSHIP:

British representative:

Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, *Chairman*

United States representative:

Alan N. Steyne, Second Secretary of the American Embassy in London

Other governments represented:

Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Free France, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and Yugoslavia

INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION FOR TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION

LOCATION (Temporary):

Pan American Union, Washington; NATIONAL 6635.

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The Inter-American Commission for Territorial Administration was established under the provisions of the Convention on the Provisional Administration of European Colonies and Possessions in the Americas, which entered into force on January 8, 1942. The Commission, composed of a representative from each of the ratifying states, shall provide for the provisional administration of any territory located in the Americas, should a non-American state directly or indirectly attempt to replace another non-American state in the sovereignty or control which it exercised over such territory.

MEMBERSHIP:

United States:

Sumner Welles, Under Secretary of State

Argentina:

Felipe A. Espil, Ambassador in Washington

Rodolfo García Arias, Minister in Washington, *alternate*

Brazil:

Mauricio Nabuco, Secretary-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rio de Janeiro

Colombia:

Gabriel Turbay, Ambassador in Washington

Costa Rica:

Luis Fernández, Minister in Washington

Dominican Republic:

J. M. Troncoso, Minister in Washington

Ecuador:

Colón Eloy Alfaro, Ambassador in Washington

El Salvador:

Héctor David Castro, Minister in Washington

Guatemala:

Adrián Recinos, Minister in Washington

Haiti:

Fernand Dennis, former Minister in Washington

Honduras:

Julián R. Cáceres, Minister in Washington

Mexico:

Francisco Castillo Nájera, Ambassador in Washington

Nicaragua:

To be appointed

Panama:

Ernesto Jaén Guardia, Ambassador in Washington

Peru:

Manuel de Freyre y Santander, Ambassador in Washington

Uruguay:

Juan Carlos Blanco, Ambassador in Washington

Venezuela:

Diógenes Escalante, Ambassador in Washington

INTER-AMERICAN DEFENSE BOARD

LOCATION OF UNITED STATES GROUP:

Federal Reserve Building, 20th and Constitution Avenue; REpublic 7500 (War Agencies), extension 72872 (Major Chapman).

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The Inter-American Defense Board was created in accordance with a recommendation of the Third Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics held at Rio de Janeiro in January 1942 that there be established in Washington "a commission composed of military and naval technicians appointed by each of the Governments to study and to recommend to them the measures necessary for the defense of the Continent." The first meeting was held March 30, 1942.

MEMBERSHIP:

United States:

Lt. Gen. Stanley D. Embick, United States Army (Retired), *Chairman*

Vice Admiral Alfred W. Johnson, United States Navy (Retired)

Col. Lemuel Mathewson, United States Army, *Adviser*

Lt. Col. Earle W. Hockenberry, United States Army, *Adviser*

Argentina:

Capt. Alberto D. Brunet, Argentine Naval and Air Attaché in Washington

Col. Antonio Parodi, Argentine Military Attaché in Washington

Bolivia:

Col. Oscar Moscoso, Bolivian Military and Air Attaché in Washington

Maj. Augusto Aramayo, *Adviser*

Brazil:

Lt. Col. Stenio Calo de Albuquerque Lima, *Acting Representative*

Col. Armando de Souza e Mello Ararigboia, Brazilian Air Attaché in Washington

Comdr. Edmundo Jordão Amorim do Valle, Brazilian Naval Attaché in Washington

Chile:

Maj. Gen. Arturo Espinosa Mujica, Chief of Chilean Military Mission

Capt. Immanuel Holger, Chilean Naval Attaché in Washington

Wing Comdr. Teodoro Ruiz-Díez, Chilean Air Attaché in Washington

Lt. Col. Guillermo López-Larraín, Chilean Military Attaché in Washington

Colombia:

Lt. Col. Ernesto Buenaventura, Colombian Military and Air Attaché in Washington

Costa Rica:

Maj. Fernando de la Guardia Tinoco

Cuba:

Lt. Col. Felipe Munilla, Cuban Military and Air Attaché in Washington

Lt. Felipe Cadenas, Cuban Naval Attaché in Washington

Dominican Republic:

Maj. Salvador Cobián, Dominican Military Attaché in Washington

Ecuador:

Col. Agustín Albán Borja, Ecuadoran Military Attaché in Washington

El Salvador:

Maj. Herman Barón, Salvadoran Military Attaché in Washington

Guatemala:

Col. Félix Castellanos, Guatemalan Military Attaché in Washington

Haiti:

Col. Roche B. Laroche, Haitian Military Attaché in Washington

Honduras:

Col. José Augusto Padilla-Vega, Honduran Military Attaché in Washington (Absent)

Mexico:

Brig. Gen. Luis Alamillo Flores, Mexican Military Attaché in Washington

Lt. Col. José Pérez Allende, Assistant Mexican Military Attaché for Air in Washington

Lt. Guillermo Hernández Sagarra

Nicaragua:

Col. Hermógenes Prado, Secretary of Nicaraguan Legation in Washington

Panama:

Col. Bey Mario Arosemena, Panamanian Commercial Counselor in Washington

Paraguay:

Lt. Col. Juan Rovira, Paraguayan Military Attaché in Washington

Peru:

Capt. Enrique A. Labarthe, Peruvian Naval Attaché in Washington

Lt. Col. Jorge Sarmento, Peruvian Military Attaché in Washington

Col. Armando Revoredo, Peruvian Air Attaché in Washington, *Adviser*

Uruguay:

Col. Hugo Molins, Uruguayan Military Attaché in Washington

Lt. Col. Medardo Farías, Uruguayan Military Attaché for Air in Washington

Venezuela:

Col. Juan Jones-Parra, Venezuelan Military Attaché in Washington

Coordinator: Maj. Gen. Blanton Winship, United States Army

Secretary General: Col. Lawrence Higgins, United States Army

INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION**LOCATION:**

Department of Commerce Building, Fourteenth and Constitution Avenue, room 3722; REpublic 7500 (War Agencies), extension 6634 (Mr. Oreamuno).

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The Inter-American Development Commission was organized on June 3, 1940 in accordance with a resolution of the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee (1) to stimulate increase of non-competitive imports from the American republics to the United States; (2) to stimulate and increase trade among the American countries themselves; and (3) to encourage development of industry in the American republics, particularly along the lines of production of consumer goods.

MEMBERSHIP:

Nelson A. Rockefeller, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, *Chairman*

J. Rafael Oreamuno, former Minister of Costa Rica to the United States, *Vice Chairman*

Renato de Azevedo, Managing Director in New York of Lloyd Brasileiro Steamship Company

George W. Magalhaes, Special Representative of Westinghouse Electric International Company, New York, N. Y.

Aníbal Jara, Consul General of Chile in New York, N. Y.

John C. McClintock, Executive Director, Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, *Executive Secretary*

Morton D. Carrel, *Projects Director*

INTER-AMERICAN FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE**LOCATION:**

Pan American Union, Seventeenth and Constitution Avenue; National 6635 (Dr. Gardel).

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The Committee was established in accordance with a resolution of the Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, held at Panamá September to October 1939, that an Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee be created to consider means of establishing a close cooperation between the American republics in order that they

may protect their economic and financial structure, maintain their fiscal equilibrium, safeguard the stability of their currencies, promote and expand their industries, intensify their agriculture, and develop their commerce. The Committee was installed at the Pan American Union on November 15, 1939.

MEMBERSHIP:

United States:

Sumner Welles, Under Secretary of State, *Chairman*

Nicaragua:

León DeBayle, Nicaraguan Minister in Washington, *Vice Chairman*

El Salvador:

Héctor David Castro, Salvadoran Minister in Washington, *Vice Chairman*

Roberto Aguilar Trigueros, Pan American Coffee Bureau, New York, N. Y.

Argentina:

Rodolfo García Arias, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Argentine Embassy in Washington

Bolivia:

Luis Fernando Guachalla, Bolivian Ambassador in Washington

René Ballivián, Bolivian Commercial Attaché in Washington

Raúl Díez de Medina, Bolivian Financial Counselor in Washington

Brazil:

Eurico Penteado, Brazilian Financial Attaché in Washington

Hugo Gouthier, Second Secretary of Brazilian Embassy in Washington

José A. Barbosa Mello

Chile:

Rodolfo Michels, Chilean Ambassador in Washington

Carlos Campbell del Campo, Counselor of Chilean Embassy in Washington

Colombia:

José Camacho Lorenzana, Second Secretary of Colombian Embassy in Washington

Costa Rica:

J. Rafael Oreamuno, former Costa Rican Minister to the United States

Cuba:

Ramiro Guerra, Economic Adviser to the "Asociación Nacional de Hacendados de Cuba"

Felipe de Pazos, Cuban Commercial Attaché in Washington

Dominican Republic:

J. M. Troncoso, Dominican Minister in Washington

Julio Vega Batlle, First Secretary of Dominican Legation in Washington

Ecuador:

Colón Eloy Alfaro, Ecuadoran Ambassador in Washington

Emilio A. Maulme, Ecuadoran Commercial Counselor in Washington

Guatemala:

Enrique López-Herrarte, First Secretary of Guatemalan Legation in Washington

Haiti:

André Liataud, Haitian Minister in Washington

Honduras:

Julián R. Cáceres, Honduran Minister in Washington

Mexico:

Luis Quintanilla, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Mexican Embassy in Washington

Rafael Nieto, First Secretary of Mexican Embassy in Washington

Panama:

Ernesto Jaén Guardia, Panamanian Ambassador in Washington

Max Heurtematte, First Secretary of the Embassy of Panama in Washington

Paraguay:

Celso R. Velásquez, Paraguayan Ambassador in Washington

Nestor M. Campos Ros, First Secretary of Paraguayan Embassy in Washington

Peru:

Juan Chavez, Peruvian Commercial Counselor in Washington

Pedro Beltrán, Office of Commercial Counselor, Peruvian Embassy in Washington

Uruguay:

Lt. Col. Medardo Farias, Uruguayan Military Attaché for Air in Washington

Venezuela:

Arturo Lares, Counselor of Venezuelan Embassy in Washington

Luis Coll-Pardo, Venezuelan Commercial Counselor in Washington

Luis E. Gómez Rutz, First Secretary of Venezuelan Embassy in Washington

Secretary-General: Luis Delgado Gardel

INTER-AMERICAN JURIDICAL COMMITTEE

LOCATION:

Rio de Janeiro

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The Inter-American Juridical Committee came into being as a result of a resolution of the Third Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Repub-

held at Rio de Janeiro in January 1942, which stated that "the Inter-American Neutrality Committee at present existing will continue to function in its present form under the name of 'Inter-American Juridical Committee'". The Committee has as its objects: (a) to study juridical problems created by the war and those which are submitted to it in accordance with the resolutions approved at the Meetings of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs or at the International Conferences of American States; (b) to continue the studies on the subject of contraband of war and on the project of a code relating to the principles and rules of neutrality; (c) to report on possible claims arising from the requisition or use of immobilized merchant vessels or those under the flag of a non-American enemy, or belonging to states whose territories are occupied by a non-American enemy, as well as on possible claims by any American republic against a non-American enemy state for unlawful acts committed to the detriment of such republic, its nationals, or their property; (d) to develop and coordinate the work of codifying international law; and (e) to formulate recommendations with regard to the manner of solving the problems mentioned under (a) above. The Committee is made up of seven members, each representing the entire inter-American community rather than any one nation exclusively. The members of the Committee have no other duties than those pertaining to the Committee.

MEMBERSHIP:

From the United States:

Dr. Charles G. Fenwick, Professor of Political Science, Bryn Mawr College

From Argentina:

Dr. Podesta Costa
Sr. Eduard Labougle, *alternate*

From Brazil:

(Vacancy)

From Chile:

Dr. Félix Nieto del Río

From Costa Rica:

Dr. Manuel Francisco Jiménez (Absent)

From Mexico:

Dr. Pablo Campos Ortiz

From Venezuela:

Dr. Carlos Eduardo Stolk

INTER-AMERICAN MARITIME TECHNICAL COMMISSION

LOCATION:

Pan American Union, Seventeenth and Constitution Avenue; NAtional 6635.

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The Inter-American Maritime Technical Commission was established pursuant to a resolution of the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee

of November 14, 1941, which recommended the organization of a commission that would be a dependency of the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee and would formulate plans for the efficient use of all the merchant vessels of the American republics available for service between the American republics and would recommend to the maritime authorities the allocation of such vessels to particular routes or to the carrying of articles of a specific nature.

MEMBERSHIP:

United States:

Charles R. Stoddard, War Shipping Administration, Commerce Department Building, room 4616; REpublic 6620, extension 579.

El Salvador:

Héctor David Castro, Salvadoran Minister in Washington, *Chairman*

Argentina:

Capt. Alberto D. Brunet, Argentine Naval and Air Attaché in Washington

Brazil:

Renato de Azevedo, Managing Director in New York of Lloyd Brasileiro Steamship Company

Chile:

Capt. Immanuel Holger, Chilean Naval Attaché in Washington

Colombia:

Alberto Vargas Nariño, Counselor of Colombian Embassy in Washington

Cuba:

Ramiro Guerra, Economic Adviser to the "Asociación Nacional de Hacendados de Cuba"

Lt. Felipe Cadenas, Cuban Naval Attaché in Washington

Ecuador:

Carlos Guzmán Asplazu, Ecuadoran Embassy in Washington (Absent)

Mexico:

Lt. Enrique Carrera Alomía, Acting Mexican Naval Attaché in Washington

Peru:

Capt. Enrique Labarthe, Peruvian Naval Attaché in Washington

Uruguay:

Comdr. Mario Collazo Pittaluga, Uruguayan Naval Attaché in Washington

INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL REFUGEES

LOCATION:

London

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees is the Committee of the whole of the continuing conference of representatives of 32 governments which

met in Évian, France, in July 1938 on the initiative of President Roosevelt for the purpose of ascertaining what constructive steps the governments might take in common to cope with the urgent problem of the resettlement of political refugees. Radical internal developments in a number of European countries had rendered it necessary that some concerted humanitarian effort be made to consider all possible opportunities for relief through permanent resettlement of as many oppressed individuals as possible. The Committee held its first meeting at Évian, France, in July 1938, and shortly thereafter established permanent headquarters at London under the supervision of a Director. Upon the outbreak of war in Europe, serious consideration was given to the question of the practical value of continuing the Committee. The United States and a number of participating governments felt that every possible effort should be made to maintain the organization and to continue the very worthwhile work which was being done.

MEMBERSHIP:

United Kingdom:

Lord Winterton, *Chairman*

United States:

Myron C. Taylor, *Vice Chairman*

Other governments represented:

Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Ireland, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, and Venezuela

Director:

Sir Herbert Emerson

Secretary: (Vacancy)

JOINT BRAZIL-UNITED STATES DEFENSE COMMISSION

LOCATION:

United States members: War Department; REpublic 6700, extension 72128

Brazilian members: Federal Reserve Bldg., Twentieth and Constitution Avenue; REpublic 7500 (War Agencies), extension 72327

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The Joint Brazil-United States Defense Commission, composed of military delegates from the army, navy, and air forces of the two countries, was established in August 1942, for the purpose of making staff plans for the mutual defense of the Western Hemisphere. Meetings of the Commission take place in Washington.

MEMBERSHIP:

United States:

Maj. Gen. J. Garesché Ord, United States Army, *Chairman* (Room 3E840, Pentagon Building; REpublic 6700, extension 72909)

Rear Admiral William O. Spears, United States Navy

Capt. Thomas H. Robbins, United States Navy

Col. K. F. Hertford, United States Army

Col. Joseph Smith, United States Army

Lt. Col. John D. Gillett, United States Army

Brazil:

Maj. Gen. Estevão Leitão de Carvalho, *Senior Member*

Vice Almirante Alvaro Rodrigues de Vasconcellos

Coronel Aviador Vasco Alves Secco

Tenente Coronel João Vicente Sayão Cardozo

Capitão-Tenente Enéas Arrochellas de Miranda Corrêa, Navy

Capitão Aviador João da Cruz Secco, Jr.

Capitão Tasso Villar de Aquino

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEES, UNITED STATES AND CANADA

LOCATION OF UNITED STATES COMMITTEE:

Federal Reserve Building, Twentieth and Constitution Avenue, room 3062; REpublic 1100 (Federal Reserve), extension 311 (Mr. Thorne).

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

Establishment of Joint Economic Committees was announced by the Governments of the United States and Canada on June 17, 1941. The Committees are to study and report to their respective Governments on the possibilities of (1) effecting a more economic, more efficient, and more coordinated utilization of the combined resources of the two countries in the production of defense requirements (to the extent that this is not covered by other committees and agencies) and (2) reducing the probable post-war economic dislocation consequent upon the changes which the economy in each country is presently undergoing.

MEMBERSHIP:

United States Committee:

Alvin H. Hansen, Special Economic Adviser to the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, *Chairman*

William L. Batt, Vice Chairman, War Production Board

E. Dana Durand, United States Tariff Commissioner

Harry D. White, Director of Monetary Research, Department of the Treasury

Adolf A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State (may sit with the Committee as occasion warrants)

Leroy D. Stinebower, Chief, Division of Economic Studies, Department of State; *Liaison Officer between the Committees and the Department of State*

Wendell Thorne, United States Federal Reserve Board, *Secretary*

Canadian Committee:

W. A. Mackintosh, Special Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Finance, *Chairman*

George C. Bateman, Metals Controller, Department of Munitions and Supply

J. G. Bouchard, Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of Agriculture

D. A. Skelton, Chief, Research Department, Bank of Canada

Hugh L. Keenleyside, Assistant Under Secretary of State for External Affairs (may sit with the Committee as occasion warrants)

H. F. Angus, Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs; *Liaison Officer between the Committees and the Department of External Affairs*

J. J. Deutsch, Bank of Canada, *Secretary*

JOINT MEXICAN-UNITED STATES DEFENSE COMMISSION

LOCATION OF UNITED STATES SECTION:

Pentagon Building, room 3C30; REpublic 6700 (War), extension 2189 (Capt. Hickman).

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The establishment of a mixed defense commission to study the problems relating to the defense of the two countries was announced on January 12, 1942, by the Governments of the United States and Mexico. An Executive order of February 27, 1942 (No. 9080) formally created, on the part of the Government of the United States, the joint commission. The Executive order states: "The purposes of the Commission shall be to study problems relating to the common defense of the United States and Mexico, to consider broad plans for the defense of Mexico and adjacent areas of the United States, and to propose to the respective governments the cooperative measures which, in its opinion, should be adopted."

MEMBERSHIP:

United States Section:

Vice Admiral Alfred W. Johnson, United States Navy (Retired), *Chairman*

Maj. Gen. John P. Smith, *Senior Army Member*

Col. Frederic Glantzberg

Lt. Col. Earle W. Hockenberry, *Secretary*

Capt. George E. Hickman

Lt. A. W. Laidlaw

Mexican Section:

Maj. Gen. Francisco Castillo Nájera, *Chief*

Brig. Gen. Luis Alamillo Flores

Commodore I. García Jurado

Lt. Col. E. Martín del Campo

Lt. Col. José Pérez Allende

Maj. Raul de Caldo

Capt. Manuel Martínez Castro

JOINT WAR PRODUCTION COMMITTEE, UNITED STATES AND CANADA

LOCATION OF UNITED STATES SECTION:

Social Security Building, Fourth and Independence Ave. SW., room 5037; REpublic 7500 (War Agencies), extension 2134.

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The Joint War Production Committee was first set up as the "Joint Defense Production Committee" by President Roosevelt and the Prime Minister of Canada, W. L. Mackenzie King (announced November 5, 1941), pursuant to a recommendation of the Joint Economic Committees, United States and Canada, of September 19, 1941. The purpose of the Committee is to "survey the capacity and potential capacity for the production of defense matériel in each country to the end that in mobilizing the resources of the two countries each country should provide for the common defense effort the defense articles which it is best able to produce, taking into consideration the desirability of so arranging production for defense purposes as to minimize, as far as possible and consistent with the maximum defense effort, maladjustments in the post-defense period."

MEMBERSHIP:

United States Section:

Charles E. Wilson, Vice Chairman, War Production Board, *Chairman*

Robert P. Patterson, Under Secretary of War

James V. Forrestal, Under Secretary of the Navy
Milo Perkins, Executive Director, Board of Economic Warfare

E. R. Stettinius, Jr., Administrator, Office of Lend-Lease Administration

Rear Admiral Howard L. Vickery, Vice Chairman, United States Maritime Commission

Capt. Gilbert Mackay, *Executive Secretary*

Canadian Section:

Harry Carmichael, Coordinator of Production,
Canadian Department of Munitions and Supply, *Chairman*

R. P. Bell, Director General, Aircraft Production
Branch, Department of Munitions and Supply

E. J. Brunning, Director General, Ammunition and
Gun Production Branch, Department of Munitions and Supply

J. R. Donald, Director General, Chemicals and Explosives
Branch, Department of Munitions and Supply

Hume Wrong, Canadian Department of External
Affairs

H. R. MacMillan, President, Wartime Merchant
Shipping, Ltd., Montreal

Roy G. Peers, General Manager, Canadian War
Supplies, Ltd., *Executive Secretary*

**MATERIAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE,
UNITED STATES AND CANADA**

LOCATION OF UNITED STATES GROUP:

Social Security Building, Fourth and Independence
Avenue SW., room 3051; REpublic 7500 (War Agencies),
extension 2212 (Mr. Batt) and 3921 (Mr. Sykes).

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

Creation of the Material Coordinating Committee, United States and Canada, was announced on May 14, 1941 by William S. Knudsen, at that time Director General, Office of Production Management. The primary purpose of the Committee is to make possible the free exchange of vital information between responsible officials of the two Governments relating to their supplies of strategic raw materials required for defense production. The exchange of such information, it was felt, would be of assistance to each Government in planning its defense program, especially in relation to questions concerning raw-material supplies needed for the production of military items.

MEMBERSHIP:*United States:*

William L. Batt, Vice Chairman, War Production Board

Howard C. Sykes, United States Deputy Member and Executive Secretary, Combined Raw Materials Board

George C. McGhee, *Executive Secretary*

Canada:

George C. Bateman, Member, Canadian Wartime Industry Control Board; Metals Controller, Department of Munitions and Supply

H. J. Symington, Power Controller, Department of Munitions and Supply

F. V. C. Hewett, Assistant to the Metals Controller,
Executive Secretary

**MIDDLE EAST SUPPLY CENTER
(United States and Great Britain)**

LOCATION:

Cairo

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The Middle East Supply Center was set up in Cairo in April 1941 to organize the provisioning of the Middle East with civilian supplies. Its main functions are (1) to review and coordinate the joint resources and civilian requirements in essential commodities of the territories (including raw materials required for their war industries), in order to make the Middle East as self-supporting as possible, and to exchange relevant information with corresponding control organizations in each territory; and (2) to estimate the balance of any essential requirements which must be imported from outside of the Middle East and make recommendations accordingly to the authorities concerned, with a view especially to the best use of available shipping. Its activities cover the following territories: Egypt, Sudan, Turkey (only as far as bulk commodities are concerned), Syria, Lebanon, Ethiopia, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Malta, Cyprus, Aden, British Somaliland, Iran, Iraq, Eritrea, Saudi Arabia, and occupied enemy territory in East Africa. The British East Africa territories collaborate in furnishing supplies.

A policy committee functions in London known as the Middle East Supplies Committee.

MEMBERSHIP OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE IN CAIRO:*United States:*

Frederick Winant, *Chairman and Principal Civilian Representative*

Gen. Russell Maxwell, United States Army, *Principal Military Representative*

Col. Samuel Claybaugh, United States Army, *Deputy for Military Representative*

Great Britain:

R. G. A. Jackson, *Director-General of the Center*

Sir Arthur Rucker, Secretary to the British Minister of State

E. H. Murrant, Representative in the Middle East of British Ministry of War Transport

MEMBERSHIP OF MIDDLE EAST SUPPLIES COMMITTEE IN LONDON:

United States:

W. Averell Harriman, Lend-Lease Coordinator

James W. Riddleberger, Second Secretary of American Embassy in London, *alternate*

Great Britain:

Capt. the Rt. Hon. Harry Crookshank, British
Financial Secretary of the Treasury

MUNITIONS ASSIGNMENTS BOARD

(United States and Great Britain)

LOCATION OF WASHINGTON BOARD:

Public Health Service Building, Nineteenth and Constitution Avenue; REpublic 6700 (War), extension 71469

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The Munitions Assignments Board was set up by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, according to a White House press release of January 26, 1942, which states: "Committees will be formed in Washington and London under the Combined Chiefs of Staff" to "advise on all [munitions] assignments both in quantity and priority, whether to Great Britain and the United States or other of the United Nations, in accordance with strategic needs."

MEMBERSHIP OF THE WASHINGTON BOARD:¹*United States members:*

Harry L. Hopkins, *Chairman*
Admiral J. M. Reeves
Lt. Gen. Brehon B. Somervell
Maj. Gen. R. C. Moore
Maj. Gen. George E. Stratemeyer
Maj. Gen. J. H. Burns, *Executive*
Lt. Col. E. C. Kielkopf, *Secretary*

British members:

Rear Admiral W. R. Patterson
Lt. Gen. G. N. Macready
Air Marshal D. C. S. Evill
Wing Comdr. T. E. H. Birley, *Secretary*

PACIFIC WAR COUNCIL**LOCATION:**

Washington

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The creation of the Pacific War Council was announced on March 30, 1942 by President Roosevelt. Its first session was held at the White House on April 1. Concerning its creation, the following quotation is from *The New York Times* of March 31, 1942:

"Speaking through Stephen T. Early, his press secretary, the President said:

"It is imperative that all of the United Nations now actually engaged in the Pacific conflict consider together matters of policy relating to our joint war effort.

¹ A counterpart of this Board, also a combined body, is established in London.

"An effective war can only be prosecuted with the complete cooperation and understanding of all the nations concerned. The new council will be in intimate contact with a similar body in London.'"²

MEMBERSHIP:

United States: President Franklin D. Roosevelt
Australia: Sir Owen Dixon, Australian Minister in the United States
Canada: Leighton McCarthy, Canadian Minister in the United States
China: Dr. Wei Tao-ming, Chinese Ambassador in the United States
Netherlands: Dr. Alexander Loudon, Netherlands Ambassador in the United States
New Zealand: Walter Nash, New Zealand Minister in the United States
Philippine Commonwealth: President Manuel Quezon
United Kingdom: Viscount Halifax, British Ambassador in the United States

PERMANENT JOINT BOARD ON DEFENSE, UNITED STATES AND CANADA

LOCATION OF UNITED STATES SECTION:

Department of State Building, Seventeenth and Pennsylvania Avenue; REpublic 5600 (State), extension 2125 (Mr. Hickerson).

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The Permanent Joint Board on Defense was set up by the United States and Canada in pursuance of a joint announcement by President Roosevelt and the Prime Minister of Canada, W. L. Mackenzie King, dated August 17, 1940, at Ogdensburg, N. Y., for the purpose of carrying out "studies relating to sea, land, and air problems, including personnel and matériel", and to "consider, in the broad sense, the defense of the north half of the Western Hemisphere."

MEMBERSHIP:*United States Section:*

Fiorello H. La Guardia, Mayor of New York;
President of the United States Conference of Mayors; *Chairman*
Maj. Gen. J. P. Smith, United States Army
Capt. Frank P. Thomas, United States Navy
Capt. John P. Whitney, United States Navy
Lt. Col. Earle W. Hockenberry, United States Army
John Hickerson, Assistant Chief, Division of European Affairs, Department of State; *Secretary*

² Represented in the London Council are the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and the Netherlands. An invitation has been extended to India.

*Canadian Section:*O. M. Biggar, *Chairman*

Maj. Gen. M. A. Pope, General Staff, Canadian Army

Rear Admiral G. C. Jones

Air Commodore F. V. Heakes, Royal Canadian Air Force

Hugh L. Keenleyside, Assistant Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, *Secretary*UNITED NATIONS INFORMATION BOARD
(Formerly Inter-Allied Information Committee)

LOCATION: 610 Fifth Avenue, New York

ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE:

The United Nations Information Office, formerly known as the Inter-Allied Information Center, was first established in September 1940, as a clearing-house for the information services of the allied nations then at war with the Axis powers. In August 1942, following the entry of the United States into the war and the creation of the Office of War Information, the United States became a member of the Committee which controlled the Center, and arrangements were made for periodic meetings in Washington. Membership of the Committee gradually increased, and by December 1942, 19 governments and associated powers were participating in the work. In November 1942, the organization adopted the names of the United Nations Information Board, for the controlling committee, and the United Nations Information Office, for the executive organization. Membership on the United Nations Information Board and participation in the activities of the Office are open to all United Nations or allied powers.

Financed by contributions from the various governments and serviced by an international staff, the United Nations Information Board maintains a clearing-house for research and reference with respect to material obtained from the information services of the various United Nations; publishes a monthly *Review* as an official record, containing speeches, statements, and other documents of the United Nations; and coordinates, prepares, and makes available material from United Nations' sources for radio, films, photographs, exhibits, press, and other information media.

MEMBERSHIP:

Australia: David W. Bailey, Director, Australian News and Information Bureau*Belgium:* J. A. Goris, Commissioner of Information, and Henri Fast, Deputy Commissioner of Information, Belgian Information Center*Canada:* L. B. Pearson, Minister Counselor of the Canadian Legation at Washington and Member of the Canadian Wartime Information Board, Washington; Mr. Harry Sedgwick, Head of the Canadian Wartime Information Office, New York*China:* C. L. Hsia, Director, Chinese News Service
Czechoslovakia: Jan Papanek, Minister, Czechoslovak Information Service; and Milos Safranek, of the Czechoslovak Information Service*Free Denmark:* C. H. W. Hasselriis, Director, Friends of Denmark, Inc.*Fighting France:* Adrien Tixier, Head of Delegation to the United States of the French National Committee; Robert Valeur, Head of the Press and Information Service, Fighting French Delegation, New York; and Prof. F. Hoffherr, of France Forever, Inc.*Great Britain:* Harold Butler, British Minister at Washington; Donald J. Hall, First Secretary of British Embassy at Washington; and V. J. G. Stavridi, Liaison Officer for British Information Services*Greece:* Nicholas Embiricos, Director, Greek Office of Research and Information, New York*India:* Josselyn Hennessy and O. Rahman, of the India Information Office, Washington*Luxembourg:* Andre Wolff, Commissioner of Information, Luxembourg Information Center*Netherlands:* N. A. C. Slotemaker de Bruine, Director, J. M. Huizinga, and C. J. M. Simons, of the Netherlands Information Bureau*New Zealand:* Roger Hawthorne, Information Officer, New Zealand Legation at Washington*Norway:* Hans Olav, Director, Norwegian Information Bureau*Philippines:* Arturo Rotor and David Bernstein, of the Office of the President, Commonwealth of the Philippines*Poland:* Stefan de Ropp, Director, and Ludwik Krzyzanowski, of the Polish Information Center*Union of South Africa:* H. M. Moolman, Public Relations Officer, South African Legation at Washington*United States of America:* Arthur Sweetser, Deputy Director, Office of War Information; Nelson Rockefeller, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs; Anthony Hyde, Office of War Information
Yugoslavia: Boris Furlan, of the Royal Yugoslav Information Office*Secretary-General of the United Nations Information Office:* W. Bryant Mumford

Treaty Information

EXTRATERRITORIALITY

Treaty With China for Relinquishment of Extraterritorial Rights in China

A statement regarding the treaty between the United States and China for the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights in China and an accompanying exchange of notes, signed January 11, 1943, appears in this BULLETIN under the heading "The Far East".

Legislation

Retirement and Disability Fund, Foreign Service: Message from the President of the United States transmitting a report by the Secretary of State, showing all receipts and disbursements on account of refunds, allowances, and annuities for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1942, in connection with the Foreign Service. H. Doc. 40, 78th Cong., 1st sess. 6 pp.

Supplemental Estimates of Appropriations for the Department of State: Communication from the President of the United States transmitting supplemental

estimates of appropriations for the Department of State for the fiscal year 1943, amounting to \$7,433,405. H. Doc. 45, 78th Cong., 1st sess. 4 pp.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Diplomatic List, January 1943. Publication 1858. ii, 105 pp. Subscription, \$1 a year; single copy, 10¢.
The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 3, January 16, 1943, Containing Additions, Amendments, and Deletions Made Since Revision IV of November 12, 1942. Publication 1862. 45 pp. Free.

OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

The Foreign Trade of Latin America: United States Tariff Commission Report No. 146, second series.
Part I. Trade of Latin America With the World and With the United States. 20¢.
Part II. Commercial Policies and Trade Relations of Individual Latin American Countries:
Volume 1. The South American Republics. 35¢.
Volume 2. Mexico and the Republics of Central America and the West Indies. 40¢.
Part III. Selected Latin American Export Commodities. 35¢.

